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THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,

AND

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,

AND

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD:

IN WHICH IS INCLUDED

A CONTINUATION

OF HIS

HISTORY OF THE GRAND REBELLION.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

36996
a.c

A NEW EDITION,

EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS.,
WITH ALL THE SUPPRESSED PASSAGES.

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THE

CONTINUATION

OF

THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

ALL this was done between the dissolution of the parliament in December, and the assembling the other in May following. And [a] upon the first day of its coming together, which was upon the eighth of May, the very day [b] that his majesty had been proclaimed the year before, [c] he told [d] them "that he had "deferred it a week, that they might meet upon "that day, for the memory of the former day." The king, after some gracious expressions of his confidence in them, told them "that they would "find what method he thought best for their pro- "ceeding, by two bills which he had caused to be "provided for them, which were for confirmation of "all that had been enacted in the last meeting;" and repeated what he had said to them when he

1661. The new parliament meets, May 8. The king's speech.

[a] following. And] following, and
[b] the very day] the very day
[c] before,] before them.
[d] he told] And he told

1661. was last there: "that next to the miraculous bless-
" ing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate
" effect of that blessing, he did impute the good dis-
" position and security they were all in, to the happy
" act of indemnity and oblivion: that," his majesty said, "was the principal corner-stone that supported " that excellent building, that created kindness in " them to each other; and confidence was their joint " and common security." He told them, "he was " still of the same opinion, and more, if it were pos- " sible, of that opinion than he had been, by the ex- " perience he had of the benefit of it, and from the " unreasonableness of what some men said against " it." He desired them "to provide full remedies " for future mischiefs; to be as severe as they would " against new offenders, especially if they were so " upon old principles; and that they would pull up " those principles by the roots. But," his majesty said, "he should never think him a wise man, that " would endeavour to undermine and shake that " foundation of the public peace, by infringing that " act in the least degree; or that he could be his " friend, or wish him well, who would persuade him " ever to consent to the breach of a promise he had " so solemnly made when he was abroad, and had " performed with that solemnity after, and because " he had promised it: and that he could not sus- " pect any attempts of that kind by any men of " merit and virtue."

He presses them to confirm the act of indemnity.

And this warmth of his majesty upon this subject was not then more than needed: for the armies being now disbanded, there were great combinations entered into, not to confirm the act of oblivion; which they knew without confirmation would sig-

nify nothing. Men were well enough contented, 1661.
that the king should grant indemnity to all men that had rebelled against him; that he should grant their lives and fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him: but they thought it very unreasonable and unjust, that the king should release those debts which were immediately due to them, and forgive those trespasses which had been committed to their particular damage. They could not endure to meet the same men in the king's highway, now it was the king's highway again, who had heretofore affronted them in those ways, because they were not the king's, and only because they knew they could obtain no justice against them. They could not with any patience see those men, who not only during the war had oppressed them, plundered their houses, and had their own adorned with the furniture they had robbed them of, ride upon the same horses which they had then taken from them upon no other pretence, but because they were better than their own; but after the war was ended, had committed many insolent trespasses upon them wantonly, and to shew their power of justice of peace, or committee men, and had from the lowest beggary raised great estates, out of which they were [e] well able to satisfy, at least in some degree, the damages the other had sustained. And those and other passions of this kind, which must have invalidated the whole act of indemnity, could not have been extinguished without the king's influence, and indeed his immediate interposition and industry.

When his majesty had spoken all he thought fit He acquaints

[e] were] *Not in MS.*

1661. upon that subject, he told them, "he could not
"conclude without telling them some news, news
them with his intended marriage. "that he thought would be very acceptable to them;
"and therefore he should think himself unkind and
"ill-natured, if he should not impart it to them.
"That he had been often put in mind by his friends,
"that it was high time to marry; and he had
"thought so himself, ever since he came into Eng-
"land: but there appeared difficulties enough in
"the choice, though many overtures had been made
"to him. And if he should never marry till he
"could make such a choice, against which there
"could be no foresight of any inconvenience that
"might ensue, they would live to see him an old
"bachelor, which he thought they did not desire to
"do." He said, "he could now tell them, not only
"that he was resolved to marry, but whom he re-
"solved to marry, if it pleased God. That towards
"his resolution, he had used that deliberation, and
"taken that advice, that he ought to do in a case
"of that importance, and with a full consideration
"of the good of his subjects in general, as of him-
"self. It was with the daughter of Portugal. That
"when he had, as well as he could, weighed all that
"occurred to himself, the first resolution he took,
"was to state the whole overtures which had been
"made to him, and in truth all that had been said
"against it, to his privy council; without hearing
"whose advice, he never did nor ever would resolve
"any thing of public importance. And," he said,
"he told them with great satisfaction and comfort
"to himself, that after many hours debate in full
"council, (for he thought there was not above one

[in full council] in a full council

" absent,) and he believed upon weighing all that 1661.
" could be said upon that subject, for or against it;
" the lords, without one dissenting voice, advised
" him with all imaginable cheerfulness to this mar-
" riage: which he looked upon as very wonderful,
" and even as some instance of the approbation of
" God himself. That he had thereupon taken his own
" resolution, and concluded with the ambassador of
" Portugal, who was departing with the whole treaty
" signed, which they would find to contain many
" great advantages to the kingdom; and that he
" would make all the haste he could, to fetch them
" a queen hither, who he doubted not would bring
" great blessings with her, to him and them."

The two houses express their approbation of it.

The next day the two houses of parliament, after they had expressed all the joy imaginable amongst them, sent to the king, "that he would appoint a " time when he would admit them to his presence:" which when he had done, both houses of parliament, in a body, presented by the speaker of the house of peers their humble thanks to his majesty, " for that " he had vouchsafed to acquaint them with his reso- " lution to marry, which had exceedingly rejoiced " their hearts, and would, they doubted not, draw " down God's blessing upon his majesty and the " kingdom." Shortly after, the fleet was made ready, and the earl of Sandwich, admiral thereof, was likewise made ambassador to Portugal, and appointed to receive the queen, and to conduct her into England.

This was the whole proceeding, from the beginning to the end of that treaty about the marriage of the king; by the whole circumstances whereof it is apparent enough, that no particular corruption in

1661. any single person could have brought it to pass in that manner, and that the chancellor never proposed it, nor heard of it but from the king himself, nor advanced it afterwards more than every one of the other lords did; and if he had done less, he could neither have been thought a prudent or an honest man: [g] to which no more shall be added, than that neither before or in the treaty, or after the marriage, he ever received the least reward or the least present from Portugal.[g]

New bishops appointed.

During the interval of parliament, the king had made choice of many very eminent and learned men; who were consecrated to some of the sees of bishops which were void; that the preservation of the succession might not depend upon the lives of the few bishops who remained, and who were all very aged: which could not have been done sooner, nor till the other parliament, to whom the settlement of the church had been referred, was dissolved. Nor could he yet give any remedy to the licence in the practice of religion, which in all places was full of scandal and disorder, because the liturgy was not yet finished; till when, the indulgence by his declaration was not to be restrained. But at the same time that he issued out his writs for convening the parliament, he had likewise [h] sent summons to the bishops, for the meeting of the clergy in convocation, which is the legal synod in England; against the coming together whereof the liturgy would be finished, which his majesty intended to send thither

A convocation summoned.

[g] to which—Portugal.] *Thus in MS.*: to which no more shall be added, that neither before, or in the treaty, or after the marriage, he never received the least reward, or the least present from Portugal.

[h] likewise] like

to be examined, debated, and confirmed. And then he hoped to provide, with the assistance of the parliament, such a settlement in religion, as would prevent any disorder in the state upon those pretences. And it was very necessary to lose no time in the prosecution of that cure; for the malignity against the church appeared to increase, and to be greater than it was upon the coming in of the king. 1661.

The old bishops who remained alive, and such deans and chapters as were numerous enough for the corporation, who had been long kept fasting, had now appetites proportionable. Most of them were very poor, and had undergone great extremities; some of the bishops having supported themselves and their families[i] by teaching schools, and submitting to the like low condescensions. And others saw, that if they died before they were enabled to make some provision for them, their wives and children must unavoidably starve: and therefore they made haste to enter upon their own. And now an ordinance of parliament had not strength enough to batter an act of parliament. They called their old tenants to account for rent, and to renew their estates if they had a mind to it; for most old leases were expired in the long continuance of the war, and the old tenants had been compelled either to purchase a new right and title from the state; (when the ordinance was passed for taking away all bishops, deans, and chapters, and for selling all the lands which belonged to them,) or to sell their present estates to those, who had purchased the reversion and the inheritance thereof: so that both the

[i] families] family

1661. one and the other, the old tenants and the new purchasers, repaired to the true owners as soon as the king was restored; the former expecting to be restored again to the possession of what they had sold, under an unreasonable pretence of a tenant right, (as they called it,) because there remained yet (as in many cases there did) a year or some other term of their old leases unexpired, and because they had out of conscience forborne to buy the inheritance of the church, which was first offered to them. And for the refusal thereof, and such a reasonable fine as was usual, they hoped to have a new lease, and to be readmitted to be tenants to the church. The other, the purchasers, (amongst which there were some very infamous persons,) appeared as confident, and did not think, that according to the clemency that was practised towards all sorts of men, it could be thought justice, that they should lose the entire sum they had disbursed upon the faith of that government, which the whole kingdom submitted to; but that they should, instead of the inheritance they had an ill title to, have a good lease for lives or years granted to them by them who had now the right; at least, that upon the old rent and moderate fines they should be continued tenants to the church, without any regard to those who had sold both their possession, and with that all the right or title that they might pretend to, for a valuable consideration. And they had the more hope of this, because the king had granted a commission, under the great seal of England, to some lords of the council and to other eminent persons, to interpose and mediate with the bishops and clergy in such cases, as ought not to be prosecuted with rigour.

But the bishops and clergy concerned had not the good fortune to please their old or their new tenants. They had been very barbarously used themselves; and that had too much quenched all tenderness towards others. They did not enough distinguish between persons: nor did the suffering any man had undergone for fidelity to the king, or his affection to the church eminently expressed, often prevail for the mitigation of his fine; or if it did sometimes, three or four stories of the contrary, and in which there had been some unreasonable hardness used, made a greater noise and spread further, than their examples of charity and moderation. And as honest men did not[k] usually fare the better for any merit, so the purchasers who offered most money, did not fare the worse for all the villainies they had committed. And two or three unhappy instances of this kind brought scandal upon the whole church, as if they had been all guilty of the same excesses, which they were far from. And by this means the new bishops, who did not all follow the precedents made by the old, underwent the same reproaches: and many of them who had most adhered to their order, and for so doing had undergone for twenty years together sundry persecutions and oppressions, were not in their present passion so much pleased with the renewing it, as they expected to have been. Yet upon a very strict examination of the true grounds of all those misprisions, (except some few instances which cannot be defended,) there will be found more passion than justice in them; and that there was even a necessity to raise as much money as could be.

1661.

A clamour raised against the bishops and clergy by their tenants.

[k] not] *Not in MS.*

1661. justly done for the repairing the cathedrals, which were all miserably ruinated or defaced, and for the entirely building up many houses of the prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the ground. And those ways much more of those monies which were raised by fines were issued and expended, than what went into the private purses of them, who had a right to them, and had need enough of them. But the time began to be froward again, and all degrees of men were hard to be pleased; especially when they saw one *classis* of men restored to more than they had ever lost, and preferred to a plenty they had never been acquainted with, whilst themselves remained remediless after so many sufferings, and without any other testimony of their courage and fidelity, than in the ruin of their fortunes, and the sale of their inheritance.

The king's coronation, April 23.

Another great work was performed, between the dissolution of the last and the beginning of the next parliament, which was the ceremony of the king's coronation; and was done with the greatest solemnity and glory, that ever any had been seen in that kingdom. That the novelties and new inventions, with which the kingdom had been so much intoxicated for so many years together, might be discountenanced and discredited in the eyes of the people, for the folly and want of state thereof; his majesty had directed the records and old formularies should be examined, and thereupon all things should be prepared, and all forms accustomed be used[1], that might add lustre and splendour to the solemnity. A court of claims was erected, where before the lords

[1] accustomed be used] accustomed to be used

commissioners for that service, all persons made claim to those privileges and precedency, which they conceived to be due to their persons, or the offices of which they were possessed, in the ceremony of the coronation; which were allowed or rejected as their right appeared. 1661.

The king went early in the morning to the Tower of London in his coach, most of the lords being there before. And about ten of the clock they set forward towards Whitehall, ranged in that order as the heralds had appointed; those of the long robe, the king's council at law, the masters of the chancery, and judges, going first, and so the lords in their order, very splendidly habited, on rich foot-cloths; the number of their footmen being limited, to the dukes ten, to the earls eight, and to the viscounts six, and the barons four, all richly clad, as their other servants were. The whole show was the most glorious in the order and expense, that had been ever seen in England; they who rode first being in Fleet-street when the king issued out of the Tower, as was known by the discharge of the ordnance: and it was near three of the clock in the afternoon, when the king alighted at Whitehall. The next morning the king rode in the same state in his robes and with his crown on his head, and all the lords in their robes, to Westminster-hall; where all the ensigns for the coronation were delivered to those who were appointed to carry them, the earl of Northumberland being made high constable, and the earl of Suffolk earl marshal, for the day. And then all the lords in their order, and the king himself, walked on foot upon blue cloth from Westmin-

1661. ster-hall to the abbey church, where, after a sermon preached by Dr. Morley, (then bishop of Worcester,) in Henry the Seventh's chapel, the king was sworn, crowned, and anointed, by Dr. Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury, with all the solemnity that in those cases had been used. All which being done, the king returned in the same manner on foot to West-minster-hall, which was adorned with rich hangings and statues; and there the king dined, and the lords on either side at tables provided for them: and all other ceremonies were performed with great order and magnificence.

Two unlucky accidents which attended it.

I should not have enlarged thus much upon the ceremony of the coronation, it may be not mentioned it, (a perfect narration having been then made and published of it, with all the grandeur and magnificence of the city of London,) but that there were two accidents in it, the one absolutely new, the other that produced some inconveniences which were not then discerned. The first was, that it being the custom in those great ceremonies or triumphs of state, that the master of the king's horse (who is always a great man, and was now the duke of Albemarle, the general) rides next after the king with a led horse in his hand: in this occasion the duke of York privately prevailed with the king, who had not enough reverence for old customs, without any consultation, that his master of his horse, (so he was called,) Mr. Jermyn, a younger brother of a very private gentleman's family, should ride as near his person, as the general did to his majesty, and lead a horse likewise in his hand; a thing never heard of before. Neither in truth hath

the younger brother of the king such an officer as master of his horse, which is[m] a term restrained within the family of the king, queen, and prince of Wales; and the two masters of the horse to the queen and prince are subordinate to the king's master of his horse, who hath the jurisdiction over the other. The lords were exceedingly surprised and troubled at this, of which they heard nothing till they saw it; and they liked it the worse, because they discerned that it issued from a fountain, from whence many bitter waters were like to flow, the customs of the court of France, whereof the king and the duke had too much the image in their heads, and than which there could not be a copy more universally ingrateful and odious to the English nation. 1661.

The other was: In the morning of the coronation, whilst they sat at the table in Westminster-hall, to see the many ensigns of the coronation delivered to those lords who were appointed to carry them, the earl of Northumberland, who was that day high constable, came to the king and told him, "that amongst the young noblemen who were appointed to carry the several parts of the king's mantle, the lord Ossory, who was the eldest son to the duke of Ormond, challenged the place before the lord Percy, who was his eldest son; whereas," he said, "the duke of Ormond had no place in the ceremony of that day, as duke, but only as earl of Brecknock, and so the eldest sons of all ancienter earls ought to take place of his eldest son;" which was so known a rule, and of so

[m] is] *Omitted in MS.*

1661. general a concernment, that the king could not choose but declare it, and send a message to the lord Ossory by the lord chamberlain, "that he "should desist from his pretence." This, and the public manner of asking and determining it, produced two ill effects. The first, a jealousy and ill understanding between the two great families: the one naturally undervaluing and contemning his equals, without paying much regard to his superiors; and the other not being used to be contemned by any, and well knowing that all the advantages the earl had in England, either in antiquity or fortune, he had the same in Ireland, and that he had merited and received an increase of title, when the other had deserved to lose that which he was born to. The other, was a jealousy and prejudice that it raised in the nobility of England, as if the duke of Ormond (who in truth knew nothing of it) had entered upon that contest, in hope that by his interest in the king, he should be able to put this eternal affront upon the peers of England, to bring them upon the same level with those of Ireland, who had no such esteem. And it did not a little add to their envy, that he had behaved himself so worthily throughout the ill times, that he was the object of an universal reverence at home and abroad; which was a reproach to most of them, whose actions would not bear the light. But as the duke was not in the least degree privy to the particular contest, nor raised the value of himself from any merit in his services, nor undervalued others upon the advantage of their having done amiss; so he was abundantly satisfied in the testimony of his own conscience, and in his unquestionable innocence,

and from thence too much despised the prejudice and the envy the others had towards him, the marks[n] whereof he was compelled afterwards to bear, which he did with the same magnanimity. 1661.

Before we proceed further in the relation of what was afterwards done, it will not be unseasonable in this place to give an account of somewhat that was not done, and which was generally expected to have been done, and as generally censured because it was not; the reason whereof is known to very few. The king had resolved before his coming into England, that as soon as he should be settled in any condition of security, and no just apprehension of future troubles, he would take up and remove the body of his father, the last king, from Windsor, and inter it with all solemnity at Westminster; and that the court should continue in mourning till the coronation. And many good people thought this so necessary, that they were much troubled that it was not done, and liked not the reasons which were given, which made it appear that it had been considered. The reasons which were given in public discourses from hand to hand, were two. The first; that now ten years were past since that woful tragedy, and the joy and the triumph for the king's return had composed the minds of the people; it would not be prudent to renew the memory of that parricide, by the spectacle of a solemn funeral; lest it might cause such commotions of the vulgar in all places, as might produce great disorders and insurrections amongst those who had formerly served the kingdom, as if it were a good season and a new provo-

A solemn interment of the late king intended.

[n] the marks] and the marks

1661. cation to take revenge upon their neighbours, who had formerly tyrannized over them; which might likewise have caused the soldiers, who were newly disbanded, to draw themselves together for their own security: and so the peace would be at least disturbed. The other was; that to perform this interment in any private manner, would be liable to very just censure, when all things relating to the king himself had showed so magnificently; and if it were done with the usual pomp of a solemn interment of a king, the expense would be so vast, that there would be neither money found nor [o] credit for the charge thereof.

But upon search the body could not be found.

These were the reasons alleged and spread abroad; nor was either of them in itself without weight to thinking men. But the true reason was: at the time of that horrid murder, Windsor was a garrison under the command of a citizen, who was an anabaptist, with all his officers and soldiers. The men had broken down all the wainscot, rails, and partitions, which divided the church, defaced all the monuments and other marks; and reduced the whole into the form of a stable or barn, and scarce fit for any other use; when Cromwell had declared that the royal body should be privately interred in the church of the castle at Windsor, and the marquis of Hertford, the duke of Richmond, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, had obtained leave to be present (only to be present, for they had no power to prepare or do any thing in it) at their master's burial. Those great men were not suffered to have above three servants each, to enter into the castle

[o] nor] or

with them; and it may easily be concluded, that 1661.
their own noble hearts were too full of sorrow, to send their eyes abroad to take notice of the places by which they passed. They found the church so wild a place, that [p] they knew not where they were; and as soon as [q] the royal body was put into the ground, they were conducted out of the castle to their lodging in the town, and the next morning returned to their several houses. Shortly after the king returned from beyond the seas, he settled the dean and chapter of Windsor, with direction to put his royal chapel there into the order it used to be, and to repair the ruins thereof, which was a long and a difficult work. His majesty commanded the dean carefully to inform himself of the place, in which the king's body had been interred, and to give him notice of it. Upon inquiry he could not find one person in the castle or in the town who had been present at the burial. When the parliament first seized upon the castle and put a garrison into it, shortly after, they not only ejected [r] all the prebends and singingmen of the royal chapel, but turned out [s] all the officers and servants who had any relation to the king or to the church, except only those who were notorious for their infidelity towards the king or the church: and of those, or of the officers or soldiers of the garrison, there could not now one man be found, who was in the church when the king was buried. The duke of Richmond and the marquis of Hertford were both dead: and the king sent (after he had received that account from the

[p] that] *Not in MS.*
[q] soon as] *Not in MS.*
[r] they not only ejected] they had not only ejected
[s] but turned out] but had turned out

1661. dean) the two surviving lords, the earl of Southampton and of Lindsey, to Windsor; who taking with them as many of those three servants who had been admitted to attend them, as were now living, they could not recollect their memories, nor find any one mark by which they could make any judgment, near what place the king's body lay. They made some guess, by the information of the workmen who had been now employed in the new pavement of the church, and upon their observation of any place where the earth [t] had seemed to lie lighter, that it might be in or near that place: but when they had caused it to be digged, and searched in [u] and about it, they found nothing. And upon their return, the king gave over [x] all further thought of inquiry: and those other reasons were cast abroad upon any occasional inquiry or discourse of that subject.

The affairs of Ireland resumed.

That which gave the king most trouble, and deprived him of that ease and quiet which he had promised to himself during the vacation between the two parliaments, was the business of Ireland; which we shall now take up again, and continue the relation without interruption, as long as we shall think fit to make any mention of that affair. We left it in the hands of the lord Roberts, whom the king had declared deputy of Ireland, presuming that he would upon conference with the several parties, who were all appointed to attend him, so shape and model the whole bulk, that it might be more capable of some further debate before his majesty

[t] upon their observation of any place where the earth] upon their observation that the earth

[u] in] *Omitted in MS.*

[x] over] *Omitted in MS.*

in council: but that hand did not hold it many days. 1661.

That noble lord, though of a good understanding, was of so morose a nature, that it was no easy matter to treat with him. He had some pedantic parts of learning, which made his other parts of judgment the worse, for he had some parts of good knowledge in the law, and in antiquity, in the precedents of former times; all which were rendered the less useful, by the other pedantry contracted out of some books, and out of the ill conversation he had[y] with some clergymen and people in quality much below him, by whose weak faculties he raised the value of his own, which were very capable of being improved in better company. He was naturally proud and imperious; which humour was increased by an ill education; for excepting some years spent in the inns of court amongst the books of the law, he might be very justly said to have been born and bred in Cornwall. There were many days passed after the king's declaration of him to be deputy, before he could be persuaded to visit the general, who he knew was to continue lieutenant; and when he did visit him, it was with so ill a grace, that the other received no satisfaction in it, and the less, because he plainly discerned that it proceeded from pride, which he bore the more uneasily, because as he was now the greater man, so he knew himself to be of a much better family. He made so many doubts and criticisms upon the draught of his patent, that the attorney general was weary of attending him; and when all things were agreed on at

Character of lord Roberts the deputy.

[y] had] had had

1661. night, the next morning produced new dilemmas. But that which was worse than all this, he received those of the Irish nation of the best quality, and who were of the privy council and chief command in that kingdom, so superciliously; received their information so negligently, and gave his answers so scornfully; that after they had waited upon him four or five days, they besought the king that they might not be obliged to attend him any more. And it was evident, that his carriage towards them was not to be submitted to by persons of his own quality, or of any liberal education: nor did he make any advance towards the business.

This gave the king very great trouble, and them as much pleasure who had never liked the designation. He knew not what to do with his deputy, nor what to do for Ireland. The lord Roberts was not a man that was to be disgraced and thrown off, without much inconvenience and hazard. He had parts which in council and parliament (which were the two scenes where all the king's business lay) were very troublesome; for of all men alive who had so few friends, he had the most followers. They who conversed most with him, knew him to have many humours which were very intolerable; they who were but a little acquainted with him, took him to be a man of much knowledge, and called his morosity gravity, and thought the severity of his manners made him less grateful to the courtiers. He had no such advantageous faculties in his delivery, as could impose upon his auditors; but he was never tedious, and his words made impression. In a word, he was such a man as the king thought worthy to be compounded with. And therefore his majesty

appointed the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer to confer with him, and to dispose him to accept the office of privy seal, which gave him a great precedence that would gratify that passion which was strongest in him; for in his nature he preferred place before money, which his fortune stood more in need of. And the king thought, it would be no ill argument to incline him to give over the thought of Ireland, that it was impossible for the king to supply him for the present with near any such sum of money as he had very reasonably demanded, for the satisfaction of the army there, (which was upon the matter to be new modelled, and some part of it disbanded,) with the reduction of many officers, and for his own equipage. 1661.

The king makes lord Roberts an offer of the privy seal.

They began their approach to him, by asking him "when he would be ready for his journey to "Ireland;" to which he answered with some quickness, "that he was confident there was no purpose "to send him thither, for that he saw there was no "preparation of those things, without which the king "knew well that it was not possible for him to go; "nor had his majesty lately spoken to him of it. "Besides, he had observed, that the chancellor had "for many days past called him at the council, and "in all other places where they met, by the name of "lord Roberts; whereas, for some months before, he "had upon all occasions and in all places treated "him with the style of lord deputy: which gave him "first cause to believe, that there was some altera-"tion in the purpose of sending him thither." They both assured him, "that the king had no other per-"son in his view but himself for that service, if he "were disposed to undertake it vigorously; but that

1661. "the king had forborne lately to speak with him of "it, because he found it impossible for him to pro- "vide the money he proposed; and it could not be "denied, that he had proposed it very reasonably in "all respects." However, it being impossible to pro- "cure it, and that he could not go without it, for "which he could not be blamed, his majesty must "find some other expedient to send his authority "thither, the government there being yet so loose, "that he could not but every day expect to receive "news of some great disorder there, the ill conse- "quence whereof would be imputed to his majesty's "want of care and providence. That his majesty "had yet forborne to think of that expedient, till he "might do it with his consent and advice, and until "he could resolve upon another post, where he might "serve his majesty with equal honour, and by which "the world might see the esteem he had of him. "And therefore since it would be both unreasonable "and unjust, to press him to go for Ireland without "those supplies, and it was equally impossible to pre- "pare and send those supplies;" they said, "the "king had commanded them to propose to him, that "he would make him lord privy seal, an office he "well understood. And if he accepted that and "were possessed of it, (as he should immediately be,) "his majesty would enter upon new considerations "how to settle the tottering condition of Ireland." The lord's dark countenance presently cleared up, having no doubt expected to be deprived of his title to Ireland, without being assigned any other any where else: and now being offered the third place of precedence in the nobility, the privy seal going next to the treasurer, upon a very short recollection,

he declared "that he received it as a great honour, 1661.
"that the king would make use of his service [z] in any "place, and that he submitted wholly to his good "pleasure, and would serve him with great fidelity." The next day the king gave him the privy seal at the council-board, where he was sworn and took his place; and to shew his extraordinary talent, found a way more to obstruct and puzzle business, at least the despatch of it, than any man in that office had ever done before: insomuch as the king found himself compelled, in a short time after, to give order that most grants and patents, which required haste, should pass by immediate warrant to the great seal, without visiting the privy seal; which preterition was not usual, and brought some inconvenience and prejudice to the chancellor.

Lord Roberts accepts the privy seal, and quits the place of deputy.

Though the king had within himself a prospect of the expedient, that would be fittest for him to make use of for the present, towards the settlement of Ireland; yet it was absolutely necessary for him, even before he could make use of that expedient, to put the several claims and petitions of right which were depending before him, and which were attended with such an unruly number of suitors, into some such method of examining and determining, that they might not be left in the confusion they were then in. And this could not be done, without his imposing upon himself the trouble of hearing once at large, all that every party of the pretenders could allege for the support of their several pretences: and this he did with incredible patience for very many days together. We shall first mention those interests, which

The king hears all parties.

[z] use] *Not in MS.*

1661. gave the king least trouble, because they admitted least debate.

The king's friends restored by act of parliament.

It was looked upon as very scandalous, that the marquis of Ormond should remain so long without the possession of any part of his estate; which had been taken from him upon no other pretence, but his adhering to the king. And therefore there was, an act of parliament passed with the consent of all parties, that he should be presently restored to all his estate; which was done with the more ease, because the greatest part of it (for his wife's land had been before assigned to her in Cromwell's time, or rather in his son Harry's) lay within that province, which Cromwell out of his husbandry had reserved for himself, exempt from all title or pretence of adventurer or soldier: what other part of his estate either the one or the other were possessed of, in their own judgments it[a] was so impossible for them to enjoy, that they very willingly yielded it up to the marquis, in hope of having recompense made to them out of other lands. There could as little be said against the restoration of the earl of Inchiquin to his estate, which had been taken from him and distributed amongst the adventurers and soldiers, for no other cause but his serving the king. There were likewise some others of the same *classis*, who had nothing objected to them but their loyalty, who were put into the possession of their own estates. And all this gave no occasion of murmur; every man of what interest soever believing, or pretending to believe, that the king was obliged in honour, justice, and conscience, to cause that right to be done to those who had[b] served him faithfully.

[a] it] *Omitted in MS.* [b] had] *Not in MS.*

There could be as little doubt, and there was as little opposition visible, in the claim of the church: so that the king made choice of many grave divines, to whom he assigned bishoprics in Ireland, and sent them thither, to be consecrated by the bishops who remained alive there according to the laws of that kingdom; and conferred the other dignities and church-preferments upon worthy men, who were all authorized to enter upon those lands, which belonged to their several churches. And in this general zeal for the church, some new grants were made of lands and impropriations, which were not enough deliberated, and gave afterwards great interruption to the settlement of the kingdom, and brought envy upon the church and churchmen, when the restoration to what was their own was generally well approved. 1661. Church-lands restored, and new bishops appointed.

The pretences of the adventurers and soldiers were very much involved and perplexed: yet they gave the king little other trouble, than the general care and solicitude, that by an unseasonable disturbance of their possessions there, the soldiers who had been disbanded and those of the standing army (who for the most part had the same ill affections) might not unite together, and seize upon some places of defence, before his affairs in that kingdom should be put in such an order as to oppose them. And next that apprehension, his majesty had no mind that any of those soldiers, either who had been disbanded, and put into possession of lands for the arrears of their pay, and upon which they now lived; or of the other, the standing army, many whereof were likewise in possession of lands assigned to them; I say, the king was not without apprehension, that the resort of either of these into England might find too many of

1661. their old friends and associates, ready to concur with them in any desperate measures[c], and for controlling of which he was not[d] enough provided even in this kingdom. But for their private and particular interest, the king cared not much how it was compounded, nor considered the danger if it were not compounded. For besides the factions, divisions, and animosities, which were between themselves, and very great; they could have no cause of complaint against the king, who would take nothing from them to which they had the least pretence of law or right. And for their other demands, he would leave them to litigate between themselves; it being evident to all men, that there must be some judicatory erected by act of parliament, that only could examine and put an end to all those pretences: the perusal[e] and examination of which act of parliament, when the same should be prepared, his majesty resolved that all parties should have, and that he would hear their particular exceptions to it, before he would transmit it into Ireland to be passed.

That which gave the king the only trouble and solicitude, was the miserable condition of the Irish nation, that was so near an extirpation; the thought whereof his majesty's heart abhorred. Nor can it be denied, that either from the indignation he had against those, in whose favour the other poor people were miserably destroyed, or from his own natural compassion and tenderness, and the just regard of the merit of many of them who had served him with fidelity, he had a very strong and princely inclination to do the best he could, without doing apparent in-

The king inclined to favour the pretensions of the Irish catholics.

[c] measures] *Omitted in MS.*
[d] not] *Not in MS.*
[e] the perusal] and the perusal.

justice, to preserve them in a tolerable condition of subjects. This made him give them, who were most concerned and solicitous on their behalf, liberty to resort to his presence; and hear[f] all they could allege for themselves, in private or in public. And this indulgence proved to their disadvantage, and exalted them so much, that when they were heard in public at the board, they behaved themselves with less modesty towards their adversaries, who stood upon the advantage-ground, and with less reverence in the presence of the king, than the truth of their condition and any ordinary discretion would have required. And their disadvantage was the greater, because they who spake publicly on their behalf, and were very well qualified to speak, and left nothing for the matter unsaid that was for their purpose, were men, who from the beginning to the end of the rebellion, had behaved themselves eminently ill towards the king. And they of their adversaries who spake against them, had great knowledge and experience of all that had passed on either side, and knew how to press it home when it was seasonable. 1661.

The plea of the Irish catholics.

They of the Irish, who were all united under the name of the confederate catholics of Ireland, made their first approach wisely for compassion; and urged "their great and long sufferings; the loss of "their estates for five or six and twenty years; the "wasting and spending of the whole nation in bat-"tles, and transportation of vast multitudes of men "into the parts beyond the seas, whereof many had "the honour to testify their fidelity to the king by "real services, and many of them returned into Eng-

[f] and hear] and to hear

1661. "land with him, and were still in his service; the "great numbers of men, women, and children, that "had been massacred and executed in cold blood, "after the king's government had been driven from "thence; the multitudes that had been destroyed "by famine and the plague, those two heavy judg- "ments having raged over the kingdom for two or "three years; and at last, as a persecution unheard "of, the transplanting the small remainder of the na- "tion into one corner of the province of Connaught, "where yet much of the lands was taken from them, "which had been assigned with all those formalities "of law, which were in use, and practised under that "government."

2. They demanded "the benefit of two treaties of "peace, the one in the late king's time and con- "firmed by him, the other confirmed by his majesty "who was present; by both which," they said, "they "stood indemnified for all acts done by them in the "rebellion; and insisted upon their innocence since "that time, and that they had paid so entire an "obedience to his majesty's commands whilst he "was beyond the seas, that they betook themselves "to, and withdrew themselves from, the service of "France or Spain, in such manner as his majesty "signified his pleasure what they should do." And if they had ended here, they would have done wisely. But whether it was the observation they made, that what they had said made impression upon his majesty and many of the lords; or whether it was their evil genius that naturally transported them to actions of strange sottishness and indiscretion; they urged and enforced, with more liberty than became them in that conjuncture, "the unworthiness and

" incapacity of those, who for so many years had 1661.
" possessed themselves of their estates, and sought
" now a confirmation of their rebellious title from
" his majesty."

3. " That their rebellion had been more infamous
" and of a greater magnitude than that of the Irish,
" who had risen in arms to free themselves from
" the rigour and severity that was exercised upon
" them by some of the king's ministers, and for the
" liberty of their conscience and practice of their re-
" ligion, without having the least intention or thought
" of withdrawing themselves from his majesty's obe-
" dience, or declining his government: whereas the
" others had carried on an odious rebellion against
" the king's sacred person, whom they had horridly
" murdered in the sight of the sun, with all imagin-
" able circumstances of contempt and defiance, and
" as much as in them lay had rooted out monarchy
" itself, and overturned and destroyed the whole go-
" vernment of church and state: and therefore that
" whatever punishment the poor Irish had deserved
" for their former transgressions, which they had so
" long repented of, and departed from the rebellion
" when they had armies and strong towns in their
" hands, which they, together with themselves, had
" put again under his majesty's protection; this part[g]
" of the English, who were possessed of their estates,
" had broken all their obligations to God and the
" king, and so could not merit to be gratified with
" their ruin and total destruction. That it was too
" evident and notorious to the world, that his ma-
" jesty's three kingdoms had been very faulty to

[g] this part] whereas this part

1661. "him, and withdrawn themselves from his govern-
"ment; by which he had been compelled to live in
"exile so many years: and yet, that upon their re-
"turn to their duty and obedience, he had been gra-
"ciously pleased to grant a free and general pardon
"and act of indemnity in which many were com-
"prehended, who in truth had been the contrivers
"and fomenters of all the misery and desolation,
"which had involved the three nations for so many
"years. And therefore that they hoped, that when
"all his majesty's other subjects (as criminal at
"least as they were) were, by his majesty's cle-
"mency, restored to their own estates which they
"had forfeited, and were in full peace, mirth, and
"joy; the poor Irish alone should not be totally
"exempt from all his majesty's grace, and left in
"tears and mourning and lamentation, and be sa-
"crificed without redemption to the avarice and
"cruelty of those, who had not only spoiled and
"oppressed them, but had done all that was in their
"power, and with all the insolence imaginable, to
"destroy the king himself and his posterity, and
"who now returned to their obedience, and sub-
"mitted[h] to his government, when they were no
"longer able to oppose it. Nor did they yet re-
"turn to it with that alacrity and joy and resigna-
"tion as the Irish did, but insisted obstinately upon
"demands unreasonable, and which they hoped could
"not consist with his majesty's honour to grant:"
and so concluded with those pathetical applications
and appeals to the king, as men well versed in dis-
courses of that nature are accustomed to.

[h] submitted] had submitted

This discourse, carried on and urged with more passion, vehemence, and indiscretion, than was suitable to the condition they were in, and in which, by the excesses of their rhetoric, they had let fall many expressions very indecent and unwarrantable, and in some of them confidently excused if not justified their first entrance into rebellion, (the most barbarous certainly and inexcusable, that any Christians have been engaged in in any age,) irreconciled many to them who had compassion enough for them, and made it impossible for the king to restrain their adversaries, who were prepared to answer all they had said, from using the same licence. They enlarged "upon all "the odious circumstances of the first year's rebel- "lion, the murdering of above a hundred thousand "persons in cold blood, and with all the barbarity "imaginable; which murders and barbarities had "been always excepted from pardon." And they told them, "that if there were not some amongst "themselves who then appeared before his majesty, "they were sure there would be found many "amongst those for whom they appeared, who "would be found guilty of those odious crimes, "which were excluded from any benefit by those "treaties." They took notice, "how confidently "they had extolled their own innocence from the "time that those two acts of pacification had passed, "and their great affection for his majesty's service." And thereupon they declared, "that whatsoever le- "gal title the adventurers had to the lands of which "they were possessed, many of whom had constantly "served the king; yet they would be contented, "that all those, who in truth had preserved their "integrity towards his majesty from the time of

1661.

The answer of the adventurers.

1661. "either if not of both the pacifications, and not
"swerved afterwards from their allegiance, should
"partake of his royal bounty, in such a manner and
"to such a degree, as his majesty thought fit to
"exercise towards them. But," they said, "they
"would make it appear, that their pretences to that
"grace and favour were not founded upon any rea-
"sonable title; that they had never consented to
"any one act of pacification, to which the promise
"of indemnity had been annexed, which they had
"not violated and broken within ten days after, and
"then returned to all the acts of disloyalty and re-
"bellion.

"That after the first act of pacification ratified
"by the last king, in very few days[1], they treated
"the herald, his majesty's officer, who came to pro-
"claim that peace, with all manner of indignity,
"tearing his coat of arms (the king's arms) from
"his back; and beat and wounded him so, that he
"was hardly rescued from the loss of his life. That
"about the same time they endeavoured to surprise
"and murder the lord lieutenant, and pursued him
"to Dublin, which they forthwith besieged with
"their army, under the command of that general
"who had signed the peace. They imprisoned their
"commissioners who were authorized by them, for
"consenting to those articles which themselves had
"confirmed, and so prosecuted the war with as much
"asperity as ever; and refused to give that aid and
"assistance they were obliged to, for the recovery
"and restoration of his late majesty; the promise
"and expectation of which supply and assistance,

[1] in very few days] in very few days after

"was the sole ground and consideration of that 1661.
"treaty, and of the concessions therein made to
"them. That they thereupon more formally re-
"nounced their obedience to the king, and put
"themselves under the protection and disposal of
"Rinuccini, the pope's nuncio, whom they made
"their generalissimo of all their armies, their ad-
"miral at sea, and to preside in all their councils.
"After their divisions amongst themselves, and the
"burden of the tyranny they suffered under, had
"disposed them to petition his majesty that now is,
"who was then in France, to receive them into his
"protection, and to send the marquis of Ormond
"over again into Ireland to command them, his
"majesty[k] was so far prevailed with, that[l] he sent
"the marquis of Ormond into Munster, with such
"a supply of arms and ammunition as he could get;
"where the lord Inchiquin, lord president of that
"province, received him with the protestant army
"and joined with him: and shortly after, the con-
"federate Irish made that second treaty of pacifica-
"tion, of which they now demanded the benefit.
"But[m] it was notoriously known, that they no sooner
"made that treaty than they brake it, in not bring-
"ing in those supplies of men and money, which
"they ought and were obliged to do; the want[n]
"whereof exposed the lord lieutenant to many diffi-
"culties, and was in truth the cause of the misfor-
"tune before Dublin: which he had no sooner un-
"dergone, than they withdrew from taking any fur-
"ther care of the kingdom, and[o] raised scandals upon

[k] his majesty] and his majesty
[l] that] as that
[m] But] But that
[n] the want] and the want
[o] and] *Omitted in MS.*

1661. " and jealousies of the whole body of the English,
" who, being so provoked, could no longer venture
" themselves in any action or conjunction with the
" Irish, without more apprehension of them than of
" the common enemy.

" Instead of endeavouring to compose these jea-
" lousies and ill humours, they caused an assembly
" or convention of their clergy to meet without the
" lord lieutenant's authority, and put the govern-
" ment of all things into their hands: who, in a
" short time, improved the jealousies in the mind of
" the people towards the few protestants who yet
" remained in the army, and who had served the
" king with all imaginable courage and fidelity from
" the very first hour of the rebellion, to that degree,
" that the marquis was even compelled to discharge
" his own troop of guards of horse, consisting of such
" officers and gentlemen as are mentioned before,
" and to trust himself and all the remaining towns
" and garrisons to the fidelity of the Irish; they
" protesting with much solemnity, that upon such a
" confidence, the whole nation would be united as
" one man to his majesty's service, under his com-
" mand. But they had no sooner received satisfac-
" tion in that particular, (which was not in the mar-
" quis's power to refuse to give them,) but they
" raised several calumnies against his person, de-
" claimed against his religion, and inhibited the
" people, upon pain of excommunication, to submit
" to this and that order that was issued out by the
" marquis, without obeying whereof the army could
" not stay together; and upon the matter forbade
" the people to pay any obedience to him. Instead
" of raising new forces according to their last pro-

" mise and engagement, those that were raised ran 1661.
" from their colours and dispersed themselves; they
" who were trusted with the keeping of towns and
" forts, either gave them up by treachery to Crom-
" well, or lost them through cowardice to him upon
" very feeble attacks: and their general, Owen
" O'Neile, made a formal contract and stipulation
" with the parliament. And in the end, when they
" had divested the lord lieutenant of all power to
" oppose the enemy, and given him great cause to
" believe that his person was in danger to be be-
" trayed, and delivered up to the enemy, they vouch-
" safed to petition him that he would depart out of
" the kingdom, (to the necessity whereof they had
" even already compelled him,) and that he would
" leave his majesty's authority in the hands of one
" of his catholic subjects, to whom they promised to
" submit with the most punctual obedience.

" Hereupon the marquis, when he found that he
" could not unite them in any one action worthy
" the duty of good subjects, or of prudent men, to-
" wards their own preservation; and so, that his
" residence amongst them longer could in no degree
" contribute to his majesty's service or honour; and
" that they would make it to be believed, that if
" he would have committed the command into the
" hands of a Roman catholic, they would have been
" able to preserve those towns which still remained
" in their possession, which were Limerick and Gal-
" way, and some other places of importance enough,
" though of less than those cities; and that they
" would likewise by degrees recover from the enemy
" what had been lost, which indeed was very pos-
" sible for them to have done, since they had great

1661. " bodies of men to perform any enterprise, and some
" good officers to lead them, if they would have been
" obedient to any command: hereupon the marquis
" resolved to gratify them, and to place the com-
" mand in the hands of such a person, whose zeal
" for the catholic religion was unquestionable, and
" whose fidelity to the king was [p] unblemished. And
" so he made choice of the marquis of Clanrickard,
" a gentleman, though originally of English extrac-
" tion, whose family had for so many hundred years
" resided in that kingdom, that he was looked upon
" as being of the best family of the Irish; and whose
" family had, in all former rebellions, as well as in
" this last, preserved its loyalty to the crown not
" only unspotted, but eminently conspicuous.

" The Roman catholics of all kinds pretended at
" least a wonderful satisfaction and joy in this elec-
" tion; acknowledged it as a great obligation upon
" them and their posterity to the lord lieutenant, for
" making so worthy a choice; and applied them-
" selves to the marquis of Clanrickard with all the
" protestations of duty and submission, to induce
" him to accept the charge and command over
" them; who indeed knew them too well to be will-
" ing to trust them, or to have any thing to do with
" them. Yet upon the marquis of Ormond's earnest
" and solemn entreaty, as the last and only remedy
" to keep and retain some remainder of hope, from
" whence future hopes might grow; whereas all
" other thoughts were desperate, and the kingdom
" would presently fall into the hands and possession
" of the English, who would extirpate the whole

[p] was] as

" nation: this importunity, and his great zeal for 1661.
" the service of the crown, and to support the go-
" vernment there until his majesty should procure
" other supplies, which the marquis of Ormond pro-
" mised to solicit in France, or till his majesty should
" send better orders to preserve his authority in that
" kingdom, (the hope of which seemed the less des-
" perate, because they had notice at the same time
" of his majesty's march into England, with an army
" from Scotland,) prevailed with him so, that he was
" contented to receive such commissions from the
" lord lieutenant, as were necessary for the execu-
" tion of the present command. Upon which the
" lord lieutenant embarked himself, with some few
" friends and servants, upon a little rotten pink that
" was bound for France, and very ill accommodated
" for such a voyage; being not to be persuaded to
" send to the commander in chief of the English for
" a pass, though he was assured that it would very
" readily have been granted: but it pleased God
" that he arrived safely in France, a little before or
" about the time that the king transported himself
" thither, after his miraculous escape from Wor-
" cester.

" The marquis of Ormond was no sooner gone
" out of Ireland, but the lord marquis of Clanrick-
" ard, then lord deputy, found himself no better
" treated than the lord of Ormond had been. That
" part of the clergy, which had continually opposed
" the lord lieutenant for being a protestant, were
" now as little satisfied with the deputy's religion,
" and as violently contradicted all his commands
" and desires, and violated all their own promises,
" and quickly made it evident, that his affection

1661. " and loyalty to the king was that which they dis-
" liked, and a crime that could not be balanced by
" the undoubted sincerity of his religion. They en-
" tered into secret correspondence with the enemy,
" and conspiracies between themselves: and though
" there were some persons of honour and quality
" with the deputy, who were very faithful to him
" and to the king; yet there were so many of an-
" other allay, that all his counsels, resolutions,
" and designs, were discovered to the enemy soon
" enough to be prevented. And though some of the
" letters were intercepted, and the persons dis-
" covered who gave the intelligence, he had not
" power to bring them to justice; but being com-
" monly friars and clergymen, the privilege of the
" church was insisted upon, and so they were res-
" cued from the secular prosecution till their escape
" was contrived. That perfidious and treacherous
" party had so great an interest in all the towns,
" forts, and garrisons, which yet pretended to be
" subject to the deputy, that all his orders were
" still contradicted or neglected: and the enemy no
" sooner appeared before any place, but some fac-
" tion in the town caused it to be given up and ren-
" dered.

" Nor could this fatal sottishness be reformed,
" even by the severity and rigour which the Eng-
" lish exercised upon them, who, by the wonderful
" judgment of God Almighty, always put those men
" to death, who put themselves and those towns
" into their hands; finding still that they had some
" barbarous part in the foul murders, which had
" been committed in the beginning of the rebellion,
" and who had been, by all the acts of grace granted

" by the several powers, still reserved for justice. 1661.
" And of this kind there would be so many in-
" stances in and about Limerick and Galway, that
" they deserve to be collected and mentioned in a
" discourse by itself, to observe and magnify the
" wonderful providence of God Almighty in bring-
" ing heinous crimes to light and punishment in this
" world, by means unapprehended by the guilty;
" insomuch as it can hardly be believed, how many
" of the clergy and the laity, who had a signal hand
" in the contriving and fomenting the first rebellion,
" and in the perpetration of those horrible mur-
" ders; and who had obstructed all overtures to-
" ward peace, and principally caused any peace
" that was made to be presently broken; who had
" with most passion adhered to the nuncio, and en-
" deavoured most maliciously to exclude the king
" and his posterity from the dominion of Ireland;
" I say, it can hardly be believed, how many of
" these most notorious transgressors did by some act
" of treachery endeavour to merit from the English
" rebels, and so put themselves into their hands, and
" were by them publicly and reproachfully executed
" and put to death.

" This being the sad condition the deputy was in,
" and the Irish having, without his leave and against
" his express command, taken upon them to send
" messengers into Flanders, to desire the duke of
" Lorrain to take them into his protection, and of-
" fered to deliver several important places and sea-
" towns into his possession, and to become his sub-
" jects, (upon which the duke sent over an ambas-
" sador, and a good sum of money for their present
" relief,) the deputy was in a short time reduced to

1661. "those straits, that he durst not remain in any "town, nor even in his own house three days to- "gether, but was forced for his safety to shift from "place to place, and sometimes to lodge in the "woods and fields in cold and wet nights; by which "he contracted those infirmities and diseases, which "shortly after brought him to his grave. And in "the end, he was compelled to accept a pass from "the English, who had a reverence for his person "and his unspotted reputation, to transport himself "into England, where his wife and family were; "and where he died before he could procure means "to carry himself to the king, which he always in- "tended to do."

When the commissioners had enlarged with some commotion in this narration and discourse, they again provoked the Irish commissioners to nominate "one person amongst themselves, or of those for "whom they appeared, who they believed could in "justice demand his majesty's favour; and if they "did not make it evidently appear, that he had for- "feited all his title to pardon after the treaties, and "that he had been again as faulty to the king as "before, they were very willing he should be re- "stored to his estate." And then applying themselves to his majesty with great duty and submissions, they concluded, "that if any persons had, by "their subsequent loyalty[q] or service, or by their "attendance upon his majesty beyond the seas, ren- "dered themselves grateful to him, and worthy of "his royal favour, they were very willing that his "majesty should restore all or any of them to their

[q] loyalty] *Omitted in MS.*

"honours or estates, in such manner as his majesty 1661.
"thought fit, and against all impediments whatso-
"ever." And upon this frank offer of theirs, which his majesty took very well, several acts of parliament were presently passed, for the indemnity and the restoring many persons of honour and interest to their estates; who could either in justice require it, as having been faithful always to the king, and suffered with him or for him; or who had so far manifested their affection and duty for his majesty, that he thought fit, in that consideration, to wipe out the memory of whatsoever had been formerly done amiss. And by this means, many were put into a full possession of their estates, to which they could make any good pretence at the time when the rebellion began.

Many catholics who had served the king immediately restored.

This consideration and debate upon the settlement of this unhappy kingdom took up many days, the king being always present, in which there arose every day new difficulties. And it appeared plainly enough, that the guilt was so general, that if the letter of the act of parliament of the seventeenth year of the late king were strictly pursued, as possibly it might have been, if the reduction had fallen out likewise during the whole reign of that king, even an utter extirpation of the nation would have followed.

There were three particulars, which, upon the first mention and view of them, seemed in most men's eyes worthy of his majesty's extraordinary compassion and interposition; and yet upon a stricter examination were found as remediless as any of the rest. One was; "the condition of that "miserable people, which was likewise very nu-

Three particulars in this affair which distress the king.

1. The transplantation of

1661. "merous, that was transplanted into Connaught;
the Irish into Connaught. "who had been removed from their own possessions
"in other provinces, with such circumstances of ty-
"ranny and cruelty, that their own consents ob-
"tained afterwards with that force could not rea-
"sonably be thought any confirmation of their un-
"just title, who were in possession of their lands."

The adventurers' defence of this measure. To this it was answered, "that though it was
"acted in an irregular manner, and without lawful
"authority, it being in a time of usurpation; yet
"that the act itself was very prudent and necessary,
"and an act of mercy, without which an utter ex-
"tirpation of the nation must have followed, if the
"kingdom were to be preserved in peace. That it
"cannot be denied to be an act of mercy, since
"there was not one man transplanted, who had
"not by the law forfeited all the estate he had;
"and his life might have been as legally taken from
"him: so that both his life, and whatever estate he
"had granted to him in Connaught, was from the
"pure bounty of the state, which might and did by
"the act of parliament seize upon the same. That,
"beside the unsteady humour of that people, and
"their natural inclination to rebel, it was notorious,
"that whilst they were dispersed over the kingdom,
"though all their forces had been so totally sub-
"dued, that there was not throughout the whole
"kingdom a visible number of twenty men together,
"who pretended to be in arms; yet there were
"daily such disorders committed by thefts and rob-
"beries and murders, that they could not be said to
"be in peace. Nor could the English, man, woman,
"or child, go one mile from their habitations upon
"their necessary employment, but they were found

" murdered, and stripped by the Irish, who lay in 1661.
" wait for those purposes; so that the people were
" very hardly restrained from committing a mas-
" sacre upon them wherever they were met: so that
" there appeared no other way to prevent an utter
" extirpation of them, but to confine and restrain
" them within such limits and bounds, that might
" keep them from doing mischief, and thereby make
" them safe. That thereupon this expedient was laid
" hold of. And whereas they had nothing to en-
" able them to live upon in the places where they
" were dispersed, they had now by this transplan-
" tation into Connaught lands given them, sufficient
" with their industry to live well upon; of which
" there was good evidence, by their having lived
" well there since that time, and many of them
" much better than they had ever done before. And
" the state, which had done this grace for them, had
" great reason, when it gave them good titles to the
" land assigned to them, which they might plead in
" any court of justice, to require from them releases
" of what they had forfeited; which, though to the
" public of no use or validity, were of benefit and
" behooveful to many particular persons, for the
" quieting their possessions against frivolous suits
" and claims which might start up. That this trans-
" plantation had been acted, finished, and submitted
" to by all parties, who had enjoyed the benefit
" thereof, quietly and without disturbance, many
" years before the king's return: and the soldiers
" and adventurers had been likewise so many years
" in the possession of their lots, in pursuance of the
" act of parliament, and had laid out so much money
" in building and planting, that the consequence of

1661. "such an alteration as was now proposed would be "the highest confusion imaginable."

And it cannot be denied, that if the king could have thought it safe and seasonable to have reviewed all that had been done, and taken those advantages upon former miscarriages and misapplications, as according to the strictness of that very law he might have done; the whole foundation, upon which all the hopes rested of preserving that kingdom within the obedience to the crown of England, must have been shaken and even dissolved; with no small influence and impression upon the peace and quiet of England itself. For the memory of the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland (how many other rebellions soever had followed as bad, or worse in respect of the consequences that attended them) was as fresh and as odious to the whole people of England, as it had been the first year. And though no man durst avow so unchristian a wish, as an extirpation of them, (which they would have been very well contented with;) yet no man dissembled his opinion, that it was the only security the English could have in that kingdom, that the Irish should be kept so low, that they should have no power to hurt them.

2. The case of entails and settlements at law.

Another particular, that seemed more against the foundation of justice, was; "that the soldiers and "adventurers expected and promised themselves, "that in this new settlement that was under de- "bate, all entails and settlements at law should be "destroyed, whether upon consideration of mar- "riage, or any other contracts which had been "made before the rebellion. Nor had there been "in the whole former proceedings in the time of

"the usurpation, any consideration taken of mort- 1661.
"gages or debts due by statute or recognizance, or
"upon any other security; so that all such debts
"must be either lost to the proprietors, or remain
"still with the interest upon the land, whoever had
"enjoyed the benefit or profits thereof." All which seemed to his majesty very unreasonable and unjust; and that such estates should remain forfeited by the treason of the father, who had been only tenant for life, against all descents and legal titles of innocent children; and of which, in all legal attainders, the crown never had or could receive any benefit.

Yet, how unreasonable soever these pretences seemed to be, it was no easy matter to give rules and directions for the remedy of the mischief, without introducing another mischief equally unjust and unreasonable. For the commissioners declared, "that "if such titles, as are mentioned, were preserved "and allowed to be good, there would not in that "universal guilt, which upon the matter compre- "hended and covered the whole Irish nation, be "one estate forfeited by treason, but such convey- "ances and settlements would be produced to se- "cure and defend the same: and though they "would be forged, there would not be witnesses "wanting to prove and justify whatsoever the evi- "dence could be applied to. And if those trials "were to be by the known rules and customs of the "law in cases of the like nature, there was too much "reason to suspect and fear that there would be "little justice done: since a jury of Irish would in- "fallibly find against the English, let the evidence "be what it could be; and there was too much rea- The adventurers' answer.

1661. "son to apprehend that the English, whose animo-
"sity was not less, would be as unjust in bringing
"in their verdict against the Irish, right or wrong."
And there was experience afterwards, in the prose-
cution of this affair, of such forgeries and perjuries,
as have not been heard of amongst Christians; and
in which, to our shame, the English were not be-
hindhand with the Irish. The king however thought
it not reasonable or just for him, upon what proba-
ble suggestions soever, to countenance such a bare-
faced violation of the law, by any declaration of his;
but commanded his council at law to make such
alterations in the expressions as might be fit for him
to consent to.

3. The extreme misery of the Irish.

The third particular, and which much affected
the king, was; "that in this universal joy for his
"restoration without blood, and with the indemnity
"of so many hundred thousands who had deserved
"to suffer the utmost punishments, the poor Irish,
"after so long sufferings in the greatest extremity
"of misery, should be the only persons who should
"find no benefit or ease by his majesty's restoration,
"but remain robbed and spoiled of all they had,
"and be as it were again sacrificed to the avarice
"and cruelty of them, who had not deserved better
"of his majesty than the other poor people had
"done."

Answer to this plea.

To which there can be no other answer made,
which is very sufficient in point of justice, but that,
"as their rebellion and other crimes had been long
"before his majesty's time, so full vengeance had
"been executed upon them; and they had paid the
"penalties of their crimes and transgressions before
"his majesty's return: so that he could not restore

" that which they called their own, without taking 1661.
" it from them, who were become the just owners
" by an act of parliament; which his majesty could
" not violate without injustice, and breach of the
" faith he had given."

And that which was their greatest misery and reproach, and which distinguished them from the subjects of the other two kingdoms, who were otherwise bad enough, was; that both the other nations had made many noble attempts for redeeming their liberty, and for the restoration of his majesty, (for Scotland itself had done much towards it;) and his present restoration was, with God's blessing, and only with his blessing, by the sole effects of the courage and affection of his own subjects: so that England and Scotland had in a great degree redeemed, and even undone what had been before done amiss by them; and his majesty had improved and secured those affections to him by those promises and concessions, which he was in justice obliged to perform. But the miserable Irish alone had no part in contributing to his majesty's happiness; nor had God suffered them to be the least instruments in bringing his good pleasure to pass, or to give any testimony of their repentance for the wickedness they had wrought, or of their resolution to be better subjects for the future: so that they seemed as a people left out by Providence, and exempted from any benefit from that blessed conjuncture in his majesty's restitution.

And this disadvantage was improved towards them, by their frequent manifestation of an inveterate animosity against the English nation and English government; which again was returned to

1661. them in an irreconcileable jealousy of all the English towards them. And to this their present behaviour and imprudence contributed very much: for it appeared evidently, that they expected the same concessions (which the necessity of that time had made fit to be granted to them) in respect of their religion should be now likewise confirmed. And this temper made it very necessary for the king to be very wary in dispensing extraordinary favours (which his natural merciful inclination prompted him to) to the Irish; and to prefer the general interest of his three kingdoms, before the particular interest of a company of unhappy men, who had foolishly forfeited their own; though he pitied them, and hoped in the conclusion to be able, without exposing the public peace to manifest hazard, in some degree to improve their condition.

Upon the whole matter, the king found, that if he deferred to settle the government of Ireland till a perfect settlement of all particular interests could be made, it would be very long. He saw it could not be done at once; and that there must be some examinations taken there, and some matters more clearly stated and adjusted, before his majesty could make his determination upon those particulars, which purely depended upon his own judgment; and that some difficulties would be removed or lessened by time: and so he passed that which is called the first act of settlement; and was persuaded to commit the execution thereof to a great number of commissioners, recommended to his majesty by those who were most conversant in the affairs of Ireland; none or very few of which were known to his majesty, or to any of those who had been so many years from their

The first act of settlement passed.

country, in their constant attendance upon his ma- 1661.
jesty's person beyond the seas.

And for the better countenance of this commission, and likewise to restrain the commissioners from any excess, if their very large jurisdiction should prove a temptation to them, the king thought fit to commit the sword to three justices, which he had resolved when the sending the lord Roberts was declined. Those three were, sir Morrice Eustace, whom he newly made lord chancellor of Ireland, the lord Broghill, whom he now made earl of Orrery, and sir Charles Coote, whom he likewise made earl of Montrath. The first had been his sergeant at law long in that kingdom, and had been eminent in the profession of the law, and the more esteemed for being always a protestant, though an Irishman, and of approved fidelity to the king during this whole rebellion. But he was now old, and made so little show of any parts extraordinary, that, but for the testimony that was given of him, it might have been doubted whether he ever had any. The other two had been both eminently against the king, but upon this turn, when all other powers were down, eminently for him; the one, very able and generous; the other, proud, dull, and very avaricious. But the king had not then power to choose any, against whom some as material objections might not be made, and who had been able to do as much good. With them, there were too many others upon whom honours were conferred; upon some, that they might do no harm, who were thereby enabled to do the more; and upon others, that they might not murmur, who murmured the more for having nothing given them but honour: and so they

Three lords justices appointed.

1661. were all despatched for Ireland; by which the king had some ease, his service little advancement.

After a year was spent in the execution of this commission, (for I shall, without discontinuing the relation, say all that I intend upon this subject of Ireland,) there was very little done towards the settling the kingdom, or towards preparing any thing that might settle it; but on the contrary, the breaches were made wider, and so much passion and injustice shewed, that complaints were brought to his majesty from all parts of the kingdom, and from all persons in authority there. The number of the commissioners was so great, and their interests so different, that they made no despatch. Very many of them were in possession of those lands, which others sued for before them; and they themselves bought broken titles and pretences of other men, for inconsiderable sums of money, which they supported and made good by their own authority. Such of the commissioners, who had their own particular interest and concernment depending, attended the service very diligently: the few who were more equal and just, because they had no interest of their own at stake, were weary of their attendance and expense, (there being no allowance for their pains;) and, offended at the partiality and injustice which they saw practised, withdrew themselves, and would be no longer present at those transactions which they could not regulate or reform.

Partiality of the commissioners appointed by the first act.

All interests were equally offended and incensed; and the soldiers and adventurers complained no less of the corruption and injustice than the Irish did: so that the lords justices and council thought it necessary to transmit another bill to his majesty, which,

as I remember, they called an explanatory bill of the former; and in that they provided, "that no person "who lived in Ireland, or had any pretence to an "estate there, should be employed as a commissioner; "but that his majesty should be desired to send over "a competent number of well qualified persons out "of England to attend that service, upon whom a "fit salary should be settled by the bill; and such "rules set down as might direct and govern the "manner of their proceeding; and that an oath "might be prescribed by the bill, which the commis-"sioners should take, for the impartial administration "of justice, and for the prosecution and execution of "this bill," which was transmitted as an act by the king. His majesty made choice of seven gentlemen of very clear reputations; one of them being an eminent sergeant at law, whom he made a judge upon his return from thence; two others, lawyers of very much esteem; and the other four, gentlemen of very good extractions, excellent understandings, and above all suspicion for their integrity, and generally reputed to be superior to any base temptation. 1661. Second act of settlement transmitted to the king. New commissioners appointed to execute it.

But this second bill, before it could be transmitted, took up as much time as the former. The same numerous retinue of all interests from Ireland attended the king; and all that had been said in the former debates was again repeated, and almost with the same passion and impertinence. The Irish made large observations upon the proceedings of the late commissioners, to justify those fears and apprehensions which they had formerly urged: and there appeared too much reason to believe, that their greatest design now was, rather to keep off any settlement, than that they hoped to procure such a one as they The different parties again heard by the king.

1661. desired; relying more to find their account from a general dissatisfaction, and the distraction and confusion that was like to attend it, than from any determination that was like to be in their favour. Yet they had friends in the court, who made them great promises; which they could not be without, since they made as great promises to those who were to protect them. There were indeed many particular men both of the soldiers and adventurers, who in respect of their many notorious and opprobrious actions against the crown throughout their whole employment, (and who even since his majesty's return had enough expressed how little they were satisfied with the revolution,) were so universally odious both in England and Ireland, that if their particular cases could have been severed from the rest, without violation of the rule of justice that secured all the rest, any thing that could have been done to their detriment would have been grateful enough to every body.

After many very tedious debates, in which his majesty endeavoured by all the ways he could think of to find some expedient, that would enable him to preserve the miserable Irish from the extremity of misery; he found it necessary at last to acquiesce with a very positive assurance from the earl of Orrery and others, who were believed to understand Ireland very exactly, and who, upon the surveys that had been taken with great punctuality, undertook, "that there was "land enough to satisfy all the soldiers and adven- "turers, and that there would be a very great pro- "portion left for the accommodation of the Irish very "liberally." And for the better improvement of that proportion, the king prescribed some rules and limit-

ations to the immoderate pretences and demands of the soldiers and adventurers upon the doubling ordinance and imperfect admeasurement, and some other irregularities, in [r] which his majesty was not in honour or justice obliged to comply with them: and so he transmitted this second bill. 1661.

Second act of settlement passed.

Whilst this second bill was under deliberation, there fell out an accident in Ireland, which produced great alterations with reference to the affairs of that kingdom. The differences which had every day arisen between the three justices, and their different humours and affections, had little advanced the settling that government; so that there would have been a necessity of making some mutation in it: so that the death of the earl of Montrath, which happened at this time, fell out conveniently enough to the king; for by it the government was again loose. For the earl of Orrery was in England; and the power resided not in less than two: so that the chancellor, who remained single there, was without any authority to act. And they who took the most dispassioned survey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done, did conclude that nothing could reasonably produce a settlement there, but the deputing one single person to exercise that government. And the duke of Albemarle himself, who had a great estate in that kingdom, which made him the more long for a settlement, and who had before the king's return and ever since dissuaded the king from thinking of employing the duke of Ormond there, who had himself aversion enough from that command, of which he had sufficient experience; I

The duke of Albemarle resigns the office of lord lieutenant.

[r] in] with

1661. say, the general had now so totally changed his mind, that he plainly told the king, "that there was no way "to explicate that kingdom out of those intricacies "in which it was involved, but by sending over a "lord lieutenant thither. That he thought it not fit "for his majesty's service, that himself, who had "that commission of lord lieutenant, should be ab-"sent from his person; and therefore that he was "very ready and desirous to give up his commission: "and that in his judgment nobody would be able to "settle and compose the several factions in that king-"dom, but the duke of Ormond, who he believed "would be grateful to all sorts of people." And therefore he advised his majesty very positively, "that he would immediately give him the commis-"sion, and as soon as should be possible send him "away into Ireland." And both the king and the general spake with the duke of Ormond, and prevailed with him to accept it, before either of them communicated it to the chancellor, who the king well knew would for many reasons, and out of his great friendship to the duke, dissuade him from undertaking it; which was very true.

And the duke of Ormond accepts it.

And the king and the duke of Ormond came one day to the chancellor, to advise what was to be done for Ireland; and (concealing the resolution) the king told him what the general's advice was, and asked him "what he thought of sending the duke of Or-"mond his lieutenant into Ireland." To which the chancellor answered presently, "that the king would "do very ill in sending him, and that the duke would "do much worse, if he desired to go." Upon which they both smiled, and told him, "that the general "had prevailed with the king, and the king with the

" duke; so that the matter was resolved, and there 1661.
" remained nothing to be done but preparing the in-
" structions, which he must think upon."

The chancellor could not refrain from saying very warmly, " that he was sorry for it; and that it would " be good for neither of them, that the duke should " be from the king, or that he should be in Ireland, " where he would be able to do no good. Besides " that he had given himself so much to his ease and " pleasure since he came into England, that he would " never be able to take the pains, which that most " laborious province would require." He said, " if " this counsel had been taken when the king came " first over, it might have had good success, when " the duke was full of reputation, and of unquestion- " able interest in his majesty, and the king himself " was more feared and reverenced than presumed " upon: so that the duke would have had full au- " thority to have restrained the exorbitant desires " and expectations of all the several parties, who " had all guilt enough upon their hearts to fear " some rigour from the king, or to receive moderate " grace with infinite submission and acknowledg- " ment. But now the duke, besides his withdraw- " ing himself from all business as much as he could, " had let himself fall to familiarities with all de- " grees of men; and upon their averments had un- " dertaken to protect, or at least to solicit men's in- " terests, which it may be might not appear upon " examination to be founded upon justice. And " the king himself had been exposed to all manner " of importunities, received all men's addresses, and " heard all they would say; made many promises " without deliberation, and appeared so desirous to

The chancellor expresses his concern at this.

1661. "satisfy all men, that he was irresolute in all things. "And therefore till he had taken some firm and "fixed resolutions himself, from which neither pre- "judice towards one man, nor pity and compassion "on the behalf of another, should remove him; the "lieutenant of Ireland would be able to do him little "service, and would be himself continually exposed "to scorn and affronts."

And afterwards the chancellor expostulated warmly with the duke of Ormond, (who well knew that all his commotion proceeded from the integrity of his unquestionable friendship,) and told him, "that "he would repent this rash resolution; and that he "would have been able to have contributed more to "the settlement of Ireland, by being near the per- "son of the king, than by being at Dublin, from "whence in a short time there would be as many "aspersions and reproaches sent hither, as had been "against other men; and that he had no reason to "be confident, that they would not make as deep "impression by the arts and industry of his ene- "mies, of which he had store, and would have more "by being absent, for the court naturally had little "regard for any man who was absent. And that "he carried with him the same infirmity into Ire- "land with that of the king, which kept it from "being settled here; which was, an unwillingness "to deny any man what he could not but see was "impossible to grant, and a desire to please every "body, which whosoever affected should please no- "body."

The duke acquaints the chancellor with his reasons

The duke, who never took any thing ill he said to him, told him, "that nobody knew better than "he the aversion he had to that command, when it

" may be he might have undertaken it with more 1661.
" advantage." He confessed, "he saw many dangers for accept-
" with reference to himself, which he knew not how ing it.
" to avoid, and many difficulties with reference to
" the public, which he had little hope to overcome;
" yet Ireland must not be given over: and[s] since
" there seemed to be a general opinion, with which
" the king concurred, that he could be able to con-
" tribute to the composing the distempers, and the
" settling the government; he would not suspect
" himself, but believe that he might be able to do
" somewhat towards it." And he gave his word to
him, " that nothing should be defective on his part
" in point of industry; for he was resolved to take
" indefatigable pains for a year or two, in which he
" hoped the settlement would be completed, that he
" might have ease and recreation for the other part
" of his life." And he confessed, " that he did the
" more willingly enter upon that province, that he
" might have the opportunity to settle his own for-
" tune, which, how great soever in extent of lands,
" did not yet, by reason of the general unsettlement,
" yield him a quarter of the revenue it ought to do.
" That for what concerned himself, and the disad-
" vantages he might undergo by his absence, he re-
" ferred it to Providence and the king's good-na-
" ture; who," he said, " knew him better than any
" of his enemies did; and therefore, he hoped, he
" would believe himself before them." However,
the truth is, he was the more disposed to that
journey, by the dislike he had of the court, and
the necessary exercises which men there were to

[s] and] yet

1661. excel in, for which he was superannuated: and if he did not already discern any lessening of the king's grace towards him, he saw enough to make him believe, that the contrary ought not to be depended upon. And within few years after, he had cause to remember what the chancellor had foretold him of both their fortunes. The duke (with the seven commissioners who were appointed for that act of settlement, and all other persons who attended that interest) entered upon his journey from London about the end of July, in the year one thousand six hundred sixty and four, full four years and more after the king's happy return into England.

The duke and the commissioners set out for Ireland, July 1664.

It was some months after the commissioners' arrival in Ireland, before they could settle those orders and rules for their proceedings, which were necessary to be done, before the people should be appointed to attend. And it was as necessary that they should in the order of their judicatory first proceed upon the demands and pretences of the Irish; both because there could be no settlement of soldiers or adventurers in possession of any lands, before the titles of the Irish to those lands were determined; and because there was a clause in the last act of parliament, that all the Irish should put in their claims by a day appointed, and that they should be determined before another day, which was likewise assigned; which days might be prolonged for once by the lord lieutenant, upon such reasons as satisfied him: so that the delay for so many months before the commissioners sat, gave great argument of complaint to the Irish, though it could not be avoided, in regard that the commissioners themselves had not been nominated by the king above twenty days be-

fore they began their journey into Ireland; so that they could never so much as read over the acts of parliament together, before they came to Dublin. And then they found so many difficult clauses in both acts of parliament, and so contrary to each other, that it was no easy matter to determine how to govern themselves in point of right, and to reduce themselves to any method in their proceedings. 1661.

The commissioners publish their intended method of proceeding.

But after they had adjusted all things as well as they could, they published their orders in what method they meant to proceed, and appointed the Irish to put in their claims by such a day, and to attend the prosecution of them accordingly. And they had no sooner entered upon their work, but the English thought they had began it soon enough. For they heard every day many of the Irish, who had been known to have been the most forward in the first beginning of the rebellion, and the most malicious in the carrying it on, declared innocent; and deeds of settlement and entails which had been never heard of before, and which would have been produced (as might reasonably be believed) before the former commissioners, if they had had them to produce, now declared to be good and valid; by which the Irish were immediately put into the possession of a very great quantity of land taken from the English: so that in a short time the commissioners had rendered themselves as generally odious as the Irish, and were looked upon as persons corrupted for that interest, which had every day success almost in whatsoever they pretended. And their determinations happened to have the more of prejudice upon them, because the commissioners were al-

1661. ways divided in their judgments. And it is no wonder, that they who seemed most to adhere to the English interest were most esteemed by them.

The parliament in Ireland was then sitting: and the house of commons, consisting of many members who were either soldiers or adventurers, or had the like interest, was very much offended at the proceedings of the commissioners, made many votes against them, and threatened them with their authority and jurisdiction. But the commissioners, who knew their own power, and that there was no appeal against their judgments, proceeded still in their own method, and continued to receive the claims of the Irish, beyond the time that the act of parliament or the act of state limited to them, as was generally understood. And during the last eight or ten days sitting upon those claims, they passed more judgments and determinations than in near a year before, indeed with very wonderful expedition; when the English, who were dispossessed by those judgments, had not their witnesses ready, upon a presumption, that in point of time it was not possible for those causes to come to be heard.

Their decrees much in favour of the Irish.

By these sentences and decrees, many hundred thousands of acres were adjudged to the Irish, which had been looked upon as unquestionably forfeited, and of which the English had been long in possession accordingly.

This raised so great a clamour, that the English refused to yield possession upon the decrees of the commissioners, who, by an omission in the act of parliament, were not qualified with power enough to provide for the execution of their own sentences. The courts of law established in that kingdom would

not, nor indeed could, give any assistance to the commissioners. And the lord lieutenant and council, who had in the beginning, by their authority, put many into the possession of the lands which had been decreed to them by the commissioners, were now more tender and reserved in that multitude of decrees that had lately passed: so that the Irish were using their utmost endeavours, by force to recover the possession of those lands which the commissioners had decreed to them; whilst the English were likewise resolved by force to defend what they had been so long possessed of, notwithstanding the commissioners' determination. And the commissioners were so far troubled and dissatisfied with these proceedings, and with some intricate clauses in the act of parliament concerning the future proceedings; that, though they had not yet made any entrance upon the decision of the claims of the English or of the Irish protestants, they declared, "that "they would proceed no further in the execution of "their commission, until they could receive his ma- "jesty's further pleasure." And that they might the more effectually receive it, they desired leave from the king that they might attend his royal person; and there being at the same time several complaints made against them to his majesty, and appeals to him from their decrees, he gave the commissioners leave to return. And at the same time all the other interests sent their deputies to solicit their rights; in the prosecution whereof, after much time spent, the king thought fit likewise to receive the advice and assistance of his lieutenant: and so the duke of Ormond returned again to the court. And the settlement of Ireland was the third time

1661.

The different par-

1661. brought before the king and council; there being then likewise transmitted a third bill, as additional, and supplemental to the other two, and to reverse many of the decrees made by the commissioners, they bearing the reproach of all that had been done or had succeeded amiss, and from all persons who were grieved in what kind soever.

ties heard a third time by the king.

The king was very tender of the reputation of his commissioners, who had been always esteemed men of great probity and unquestionable reputation: and though he could not refuse to receive complaints, yet he gave those who complained no further countenance, than to give the others opportunity to vindicate themselves. Nor did there appear the least evidence to question the sincerity of their proceeding, or to make them liable to any reasonable suspicion of corruption: and the complaints were still prosecuted by those, who had that taken from them which they desired to keep for themselves.

The truth is, there is reason enough to believe, that upon the first arrival of the commissioners in Ireland, and some conversation they had, and the observation they made of the great bitterness and animosities from the English, both soldiers and adventurers, towards the whole Irish nation of what kind soever; the scandalous proceeding of the late commissioners upon the first act, when they had not been guided by any rules of justice, but rejected[t] all evidence, which might operate to the taking away any thing from them which they resolved to keep, the judges themselves being both parties and witnesses in all the causes brought before them; toge-

The author's reflections on the proceedings of the commissioners.

[t] rejected] rejecting

ther with the very ill reputation very many of the soldiers and adventurers had for extraordinary malice to the crown and to the royal family; and the notable barbarity they had exercised towards the Irish, who without doubt for many years had undergone the most cruel oppressions of all kind that can be imagined, many thousands of them having been forced, without being covered under any house, to perish in the open fields for hunger; the infamous purchases which had been made by many persons, who had compelled the Irish to sell their remainders and lawful pretences for very inconsiderable sums of money; I say, these and many other particulars of this kind, together with some attempt that had been made upon their first arrival, to corrupt them against all pretences which should be made by the Irish, might probably dispose the commissioners themselves to such a prejudice against many of the English, and to such a compassion towards the Irish, that they might be much inclined to favour their pretences and claims; and to believe that the peace of the kingdom and his majesty's government might be better provided for, by their being settled in the lands of which they had been formerly possessed, than by supporting the ill-gotten titles of those, who had manifested all imaginable infidelity and malice against his majesty whilst they had any power to oppose him, and had not given any testimony of their conversion, or of their resolution to yield him for the future a perfect and entire obedience after they could oppose him no longer; as if they desired only to retain those lands which they had gotten by rebellion, together with the principles by which they had gotten them, until they 1661.

1661. should have an opportunity to justify both by some new power, or a concurrence amongst themselves. Whencesoever it proceeded, it was plain enough the Irish had received more favour than was expected or imagined.

And in the very entrance into the work, to avoid the partiality which was too apparent in the English towards each other, and their animosity against the Irish as evident, very strict rules had been set down by the commissioners, what kind of evidence they would admit to be good, and receive accordingly. And it was provided, "that the evidence of no sol-"dier or adventurer should be received in any case, "to which himself was never so much a stranger;" as, if his own lot had fallen in Munster, and he had no pretence to any thing out of that province, his evidence should not be received, as to any thing that he had seen done in Leinster or Connaught or Ulster, wherein he was not at all concerned: which was generally thought to be a very unjust rule, after so many years expired, and so many persons dead, who had likewise been present at those actions. And by this means many men were declared not to have been in rebellion, when there might have been full evidence, that they had been present in such and such a battle, and in such and such a siege, if the witnesses might have been received who were then present at those actions, and ready to give testimony of it, and of such circumstances as could not have been feigned, if their evidence might have been received.

Too many of the Irish rebels restored to their estates.

That which raised the greatest umbrage against the commissioners was, that a great number of the most infamous persons of the Irish nation, who were

looked upon by those of their own country with the greatest detestation, as men who had been the most violent fomenters and prosecutors of the rebellion, and the greatest opposers of all moderate counsels, and of all expedients which might have contributed towards a peace in the late king's time, (whereby the nation might have been redeemed,) and who had not had the confidence so much as to offer any claim before the late commissioners, were now adjudged and declared innocent, and so restored to their estates: and that many others, who in truth had never been in rebellion, but notoriously served the king against the rebels both in England and Ireland, and had never been put out of their estates, now upon some slight evidence, by the interception of letters, or confession of messengers that they had had correspondence with the rebels, (though it was evident that even that correspondence had been perfunctory, and only to secure them that they might pursue his majesty's service,) were condemned, and had their estates taken from them, by the judgment of the commissioners. 1661.

Many who had served the king very hardly treated.

And of this I cannot forbear to give an instance, and the rather, that it may appear how much a personal prejudice, upon what account soever, weighs and prevails against justice itself, even with men who are not in their natures friends to injustice. It was the case of the earl of Tyrconnell, and it was this. He was the younger son of the lord Fitzwilliams, a catholic lord in Ireland, but of ancient English extraction, of a fair estate, and never suspected to be inclined to the rebels; as very few of the English were. Oliver Fitzwilliams (who was the person we are now speaking of, and the younger son of

An instance of this in the case of the earl of Tyrconnell.

1661. that lord Fitzwilliams) had been sent by his father into France, to be there educated, many years before the rebellion. He was a proper and a handsome man, and by his courage had gotten a very good reputation in the French army; where, after he had spent some years in the *campagna*, he obtained the command of a regiment in which he had been first a captain, and was looked upon generally as an excellent officer.

When the army was sent into winter quarters, he went to Paris, to kiss the hands of the queen of England, who was come thither the summer before, it being in the year 1644. Having often waited upon her majesty, he made many professions of duty and obedience to the king, and much condemned the rebellion of the Irish, and said, "he knew many "of them were cozened and deceived by tales and "lies, and had no purpose to withdraw themselves "from his majesty's obedience." He made offer of his service to the queen, "and that, if she thought "he might be able to do the king any service, he "would immediately go into England, and with his "majesty's approbation into Ireland, where, if he "could do no other service, he was confident he "could draw off many of the Irish from the service "of the rebels." The queen, upon the good reputation he had there, accepted his offer, and writ a letter by him to the king, with a very good character of his person, and as very fit to be trusted in Ireland.

It was his fortune to come to the king very few days before the battle of Naseby, where, as a volunteer in the troop of prince Rupert, he behaved himself with very signal courage in the view of the

king himself; who shortly after gave him a letter 1661.
full of recommendation and testimony to the marquis of Ormond, his lieutenant of Ireland, who received him kindly, and having conferred with him at large, and understood all he intended to do, gave him leave to go into the Irish quarters, and to return again, as he thought fit. And in a short time after, both his father and his elder brother died; whereby both the title and the estate devolved to him, and he was possessed accordingly.

The man was before and in his nature elate and proud enough, had a greater value of himself than other men had, and a less of other men than they deserved, whereby he got not himself beloved by many; but nobody who loved him worst ever suspected him to incline to the rebels, though they knew that he was often in their quarters, and had often conferences with them: and a good part of his estate lay in their quarters. He attended upon the lord lieutenant in all his expeditions: and when the Irish so infamously broke the first peace, and besieged the lieutenant in Dublin, (upon which he was compelled to deliver it into the hands of the parliament with the king's consent,) the lord Fitzwilliams returned with him or about the same time into England, and from thence again into France; where he married the daughter of the widow countess of Clare, and sister to that earl, a lady of a religion the most opposite to the Roman catholic, which he suffered her to enjoy without any contradiction. When the war was at an end in England, and the king a prisoner, he with his wife and family transported himself into England, and after some time into Ireland; where Cromwell had a jealous eye

1661. upon him, but not being able to discover any thing against him, could not hinder him from possessing the estate that had descended to him from his father and his elder brother. And the war being there ended, and the settlement made by the act of parliament upon the statute, as hath been mentioned before, there was not the least trouble given to him; but he quietly enjoyed the possession of his whole estate till the king's return, when he came into England to kiss his majesty's hand, and was by him made earl of Tyrconnell.

When the commissioners sat upon the first act, who observed no rules of justice, law, or equity, when they contradicted any interest or appetite of their own, he received no disturbance; but when these new commissioners came over, all men, as well protestants as others, whose estates had never been questioned, thought it safest for them to put in their claims before the commissioners, to prevent any trouble that might arise hereafter. This gentleman followed that advice and example, put in his claim, and pressed the commissioners for a short day to be heard. The day was appointed. Neither adventurer, soldier, or any other person, made any title to the land: but some envious person, unqualified for any prosecution, offered a letter to the commissioners which had many years before, and before his coming into Ireland, been written by colonel Fitzwilliams in Paris to a Jesuit, one Hartogan, then in Ireland; in which he gave him notice "of his purpose of coming into Ireland, where he hoped to "do their friends some service."

This letter was writ when the queen first designed to send him to the king, that the Irish, who

were the most jealous people of the world, might know of his purpose to come thither, before they should hear of his being in Dublin; and now being produced before the commissioners, without considering how long since it was writ, or the reason of writing it, that he had served the king, and never in the least degree against him, upon one of their rules, "that a correspondence with the rebels was "a good evidence," they without any pause declared him nocent, and presently assigned his estate to some persons to whom reprisals were to be made: whilst they who thought the judgment very unjust, laughed at the ill luck of a man whom they did not love; and all men were well enough pleased with the sentence, who were displeased with the person. And this party pursued him so severely into England, that the king's interposition to redeem him from so unjust a decree was looked upon as over-favouring the Irish; when none were so glad of the decree as the Irish, who universally hated him. Nor was he at last restored to the possession of his estate, without making some composition with those to whom the commissioners had assigned it. 1661.

Many, who had formerly made their claims without insisting upon any deeds of settlement or other conveyances in law, now produced former settlements in consideration of marriage, or other like good considerations in law, made before the beginning of the rebellion: which being now proved by witnesses enough, decrees were every day obtained for the restitution of great quantities of land upon those deeds and conveyances; though the forgeries of those deeds and perjury of those witnesses were very notorious. And some instances were given of

Many decrees made upon settlements notoriously forged.

1661. the manifestation and direct proof that was made of the forgery of deeds, upon which decrees had been made, to the satisfaction of the commissioners themselves, within a very short time after the pronouncing those decrees: and yet no reparation was given, but the decrees proceeded and were executed with all rigour, as if no such thing had appeared.

The commissioners' defence.

The commissioners answered, "that they had "made no decrees but according to their con- "sciences, and such as they were obliged to make "by the course and rule of justice. That they did "doubt and in truth believe, that there had been "evil practices used both in the forging of deeds "and corrupting of witnesses, and that the same "was equally practised by the English as the Irish: "and therefore that they had been obliged to make "that order, which had been so much excepted "against, not to admit the testimony of any English "adventurer or soldier in the case of another adven- "turer or soldier; for that it was very notorious, "they looked upon the whole as one joint interest, "and so gratified each other in their testimonies." And of this they gave many sad instances, by which it was too evident that the perjuries were mutual, and too much practised by the one and the other side.

"That they had used all the providence and vi- "gilance they could, by the careful examination of "witnesses, (which were produced apart, and never "in the presence of each other,) and by asking "them all such material questions as occurred to "their understandings, and which they could not "expect to be asked, to discover the truth, and to "prevent and manifest all perjuries. That they

" had likewise used their utmost diligence and care 1661.
" to prevent their being imposed upon with false and
" forged deeds and conveyances, by taking a precise
" and strict view themselves of all deeds produced;
" and interrogated the witnesses with all the cun-
" ning they could, upon the matter and considera-
" tion upon which such deeds had been entered
" into, and upon the manner[u] and circumstances in
" the execution thereof: which was all the provi-
" dence they could use. And though they met with
" many reasons oftentimes to doubt the integrity of
" the proceedings, and in their own private con-
" sciences to apprehend there might be great cor-
" ruption; yet that they were obliged judicially to
" determine according to the testimony of the wit-
" nesses, and the evidence of those deeds in law
" against which no proofs were made. That they
" had constantly heard all that the adverse party
" had thought fit to object, both against the credit
" of any witnesses, and the truth and validity of
" any conveyances which were produced; upon
" which they had rejected many witnesses, and dis-
" allowed some conveyances: but when the objec-
" tions were only founded upon presumptions and
" probabilities, as most usually they were, they
" could not weigh down the full and categorical
" evidence that was given.

" That if they had yielded to the importunities of
" the persons concerned, who often pressed to have
" further time given to them to prove such a perjury,
" or to disprove such a conveyance; it must have
" made their work endless, and stopped all manner

[u] manner] matter

1661. "of proceedings, for which it appeared they were "straitened too much in time: and that indeed "would have but opened the door wider for perjuries "and other corruptions; since it was very plain to "them, that either side could bring as many wit- "nesses as they pleased, to prove what they pleased, "and that they would bring as many as they be- "lieved necessary to the work in hand. And there- "fore the commissioners having before prescribed a "method and rule to themselves for their proceed- "ings, and that no man could have a cause, in which "he was concerned, brought to hearing without his "knowing when it was to be heard, and so it was "to be presumed, that he was well provided to sup- "port his own title; they had thought fit, upon ma- "ture deliberation amongst themselves, to adhere to "the order they had prescribed to themselves and "others, and to conclude, that they would not be "able to prove that another day, which they were "not able to prove at the time when they ought to "have been ready.

"For the discovery of any forgery after the de- "crees had been passed, and upon which they had "given no reparation," they confessed, "that some "few such discoveries had been made to them, by "which the forgery appeared very clearly: but as "they had no power by the act of parliament to pu- "nish either forgery or perjury, but must leave the "examination and punishment thereof to the law, "and to the judges of the law; so, that they had "only authority to make decrees upon such grounds "as satisfied their consciences, but had not any au- "thority to reverse those decrees, after they were "once made and published, upon any evidence what-

"soever." They concluded with their humble desire to the king, "that the most strict examinations might "be made of their corruptions, in which," they said, "they were sure to be found very innocent, against "all the malice that was discovered against them: "that they had proceeded in all things according to "the integrity of their hearts, and the best of their "understandings; and if through the defect of that "they had erred in any part of their determinations "and judgments, they hoped their want of wisdom "should not be imputed to them as a crime." 1661.

Many, who had a very good opinion of the persons and abilities of the commissioners, were not yet satisfied with their defence; nor did they believe, that they were so strictly bound to judge upon the testimony of suspected witnesses; but that they were therefore trusted with an arbitrary power, because it was foreseen that juries were not like to be entire: so that they were, upon weighing all circumstances, to declare what in their consciences they believed to be true and just. That if they had bound themselves up by too strict and unreasonable rules, they should rather in time have reformed those rules, than think to support what was done amiss, by the observation of what they had prescribed to themselves. And it was believed, that the entire exclusion of the English from being witnesses for the proving of what could not in nature be otherwise proved, was not just or reasonable. That their want of power to reverse or alter their own decrees, upon any emergent reasons which could afterwards occur, was a just ground for their more serious deliberation in and before they passed any such decrees. And their excuse for not granting longer time when it was pressed for, was

Their defence not perfectly satisfactory.

1661. founded upon [x] reasons which were visibly not to be justified; it not being possible for any man to defend himself against the claims of the Irish, without knowing what deeds or witnesses they could produce for making good their suggestions; and therefore it was as impossible for them to have all their evidence upon the place. Besides that it was very evident, that in the last ten days of their sitting (which was likewise thought to be when their power as to those particulars was determined, and in which they had made more decrees than in all the time before) they had made so many in a day, contrary to their former rule and method, that men were plainly surprised, and could not produce those proofs which in a short time they might have been supplied with; and the refusing to allow them that time, was upon the matter to determine their interest, and to take away their estates without being once heard, and upon the bare allegations of their adversaries. And in these last decrees many instances were given of that nature, wherein the evidence appeared to be very full, if time had been given to produce it.

A decree in favour of the marquis of Antrim universally complained of

There was one very notable case decreed by the commissioners extremely complained of, and cried out against by all parties, as well Irish as English; and for which the commissioners themselves made no other excuse or defence, but the receipt of a letter from the king, which was not thought a good plea for sworn judges, as the commissioners were. It was the case of the marquis of Antrim. Which case having been so much upon the stage, and so much en-

[x] was founded upon] *Omitted in MS.*

larged upon to the reproach of the king, and even to the traducing of the memory of his blessed father; and those men, who artificially contrived the doing of all that was done amiss, having done all they could to wound the reputation of the chancellor, and to get it to be believed, "that he had by "some sinister information misled the king to oblige "the marquis;" it is a debt due to truth, and to the honour of both their majesties, to set down a very particular narration of that whole affair; by which it will appear, how far the king was from so much as wishing that any thing should be done for the benefit of the marquis, which should be contrary to the rules of justice. 1661.

A very particular relation of the marquis of Antrim's case.

Whilst his majesty was in foreign parts, he received frequent advertisements from England and from Ireland, "that the marquis of Antrim behaved "himself very undutifully towards him; and that "he had made himself very grateful to the rebels, "by calumniating the late king: and that he had "given it under his hand to Ireton, or some other "principal person employed under Cromwell, that "his late majesty had sent him into Ireland to join "with the rebels, and that his majesty was not of- "fended with the Irish for entering into that rebel- "lion:" which was a calumny so false and so odious, and reflected so much upon the honour of his majesty, that the king was resolved, as soon as God should put it into his power, to cause the strictest examination to be made concerning it; the report having gained much credit with his majesty, by the notoriety that the marquis had procured great recommendations from those who governed in Ireland to those who governed in England; and that upon

1661. the presumption of that he had come into England, and as far as St. Alban's towards London, from whence he had been forced suddenly to return into Ireland by the activity of his many creditors, who upon the news of his coming had provided for his reception, and would unavoidably have cast him into prison: And no recommendation could have inclined those who were in authority, to do any thing extraordinary for the protection of a person, who from the beginning of the Irish rebellion lay under so ill a character with them, and had so ill a name throughout the kingdom.

The king had been very few days in London, after his arrival from the parts beyond the seas, when he was informed that the marquis of Antrim was upon his way from Ireland towards the court: and the commissioners from Ireland, who have been mentioned before, were the first who gave his majesty that information, and at the same time told him all that his majesty had heard before concerning the marquis, and of the bold calumnies with which he had traduced his royal father, with many other particulars; "all which," they affirmed, "would "be proved by unquestionable evidence, and by let- "ters and certificates under his own hand." Upon this full information, (of the truth whereof his majesty entertained no doubt,) as soon as the marquis came to the town, he was by the king's special order committed to the Tower; nor could any petition from him, or entreaty of his friends, of which he had some very powerful, prevail with his majesty to admit him into his presence. But by the first opportunity he was sent prisoner to Dublin, where he was committed to the castle; the king having given

direction, that he should be proceeded against with all strictness according to law: and to that purpose, the lords justices were required to give all orders and directions necessary. The marquis still professed and avowed his innocence, and used all the means he could to procure that he might be speedily brought to his trial; which the king likewise expected. But after a year's detention in prison, and nothing brought against him, he was set at liberty, and had a pass given him from the council there to go into England. He then applied himself to his majesty, demanding nothing of favour, but said, "he "expected justice; and that after so many years "being deprived of his estate, he might at last be "restored to it, if nothing could be objected against "him wherein he had disserved his majesty." 1661.

He was a gentleman who had been bred up in the court of England, and having married the duchess of Buckingham, (though against the king's will,) he had been afterwards very well received by both their majesties, and was frequently in their presence. He had spent a very vast estate in the court, without having ever received the least benefit from it. He had retired into Ireland, and lived upon his own estate in that country, some years before the rebellion brake out; in the beginning whereof he had undergone some suspicion, having held some correspondence with the rebels, and possibly made some undertakings to them: but he went speedily to Dublin, was well received by the justices there, and from thence transported himself with their license to Oxford, where the king was; to whom he gave so good an account of all that had passed, that his majesty made no doubt of his affection to his service, though

1661. he had very little confidence in his judgment and understanding, which were never remarkable. Besides that it was well known, that he had a very unreasonable envy towards the marquis of Ormond, and would fain have it believed that his interest in Ireland was so great, that he could reclaim that whole nation to his majesty's obedience; but that vanity and presumption never gained the least credit with his majesty: yet it may reasonably be believed that he thought so himself, and that it was the source from which all the bitter waters of his own misfortune issued.

Upon the Scots second entering into England with their army upon the obligation of the covenant, and all his majesty's endeavours to prevent it being disappointed, the marquis of Mountrose had proposed to the king, "to make a journey privately "into Scotland, and to get into the Highlands, "where, with his majesty's authority, he hoped he "should be able to draw together such a body of "men, as might give his countrymen cause to call "for their own army out of England, to secure "themselves." And with this overture, or upon debate thereof, he wished "that the earl of Antrim" (for he was then no more) "might be likewise sent "into Ulster, where his interest lay, and from "whence he would be able to transport a body of "men into the Highlands, where he had likewise "the clan of Macdonnels, who acknowledged him to "be their chief, and would be consequently at his "devotion; by which means the marquis of Mount-"rose would be enabled the more powerfully to pro-"ceed in his undertaking." The earl of Antrim entered upon this undertaking with great alacrity, and

undertook to the king to perform great matters in Scotland; to which his own interest and animosity enough disposed him, having an old and a sharp controversy and contestation with the marquis of Argyle, who had dispossessed him of a large territory there. All things being adjusted for this undertaking, and his majesty being well pleased with the earl's alacrity, he created him at that time a marquis, gave him letters to the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant there, as well to satisfy him of the good opinion he had of the marquis of Antrim, and of the trust he had reposed in him, as to wish him to give him all the assistance he could with convenience, for the carrying on the expedition for Scotland. 1661.

And for the better preventing of any inconvenience that might fall out by the rashness and inadvertency of the marquis of Antrim towards the lord lieutenant, his majesty sent Daniel O'Neile of his bedchamber into Ireland with him, who had great power over him, and very much credit with the marquis of Ormond; and was a man of that dexterity and address, that no man could so well prevent the inconveniences and prejudice, which the natural levity and indiscretion of the other might tempt him to, or more dispose and incline the lord lieutenant to take little notice of those vanities and indiscretions. And the king, who had no desire that the marquis should stay long in Dublin, upon his promise that he would use all possible expedition in transporting himself into Scotland, gave him leave to hold that correspondence with the Irish rebels (who had the command of all the northern parts, and without whose connivance at least he could very

1661. hardly be able to make his levies and transport his men) as was necessary to his purposes: within the limits of which, it is probable enough that he did not contain himself; for the education and conversation he had in the world, had not extirpated that natural craft in which that nation excels, and by which they only deceive themselves; and might say many things, which he had not authority or warrant to say.

Upon his coming to Dublin, the lord lieutenant gave him all the countenance he could wish, and assisted him in all the ways he could propose, to prosecute his design; but the men were to be raised in or near the rebels' quarters. And it cannot be denied, but that the levies he made, and sent over into Scotland under the command of Calkito, were the foundation of all those wonderful acts, which were performed afterwards by the marquis of Mountrose, (they were fifteen hundred men, very good, and with very good officers; all so hardy, that neither the ill fare nor the ill lodging in the Highlands gave them any discouragement,) and gave the first opportunity to the marquis of Mountrose of being in the head of an army; under which he drew together such of the Highlanders and others of his friends, who were willing to repair to him. But upon any military action, and defeat given to the enemy, which happened as often as they encountered the Scots, the Highlanders went always home with their booty, and the Irish only stayed together with their general. And from this beginning the marquis of Mountrose grew to that power, that after many battles won by him with notable slaughter of the enemy, he marched victoriously with his army till

he made himself master of Edinburgh, and redeemed 1661.
out of the prison there the earl of Crawford[y], lord Ogilby, and many other noble persons, who had been taken and sent thither, with resolution that they should all lose their heads. And the marquis of Mountrose did always acknowledge, that the rise and beginning of his good success was due and to be imputed to that body of Irish, which had in the beginning been sent over by the marquis of Antrim; to whom the king had acknowledged the service by several letters, all of his own handwriting; in which were very gracious expressions of the sense his majesty had of his great services, and his resolution to reward him.

It is true, that the marquis of Antrim had not gone over himself with his men, as he had promised to do, but stayed in Ulster under pretence of raising a greater body of men, with which he would adventure his own person; but either out of jealousy or displeasure against the marquis of Mountrose, or having in truth no mind to that service of Scotland, he prosecuted not that purpose, but remained still in Ulster, where all his own estate lay, and so was in the rebels' quarters, and no doubt was often in their councils; by which he gave great advantages against himself, and might in strictness of law have been as severely punished by the king, as the worst of the rebels. At last, in his moving from place to place, (for he was not in any expedition with the rebels,) he was taken prisoner by the Scots, who intended to have put him to death for having sent men into Scotland; but he made his escape out of

[y] Crawford] Strafford

1661. their hands, and transported himself into Flanders, and from thence, having assurance that the prince (his majesty that now is) was then in the west, he came with two good frigates into the port of Falmouth, and offered his service to his royal highness; and having in his frigates a quantity of arms and some ammunition, which he had procured in Flanders for the service of Ireland, most of the arms and ammunition were employed, with his consent, for the supply of the troops and garrisons in Cornwall: and the prince made use of one of the frigates to transport his person to Scilly, and from thence to Jersey; without which convenience, his highness had been exposed to great difficulties, and could hardly have escaped the hands of his enemies. After all which, when Dublin was given up to the parliament, and the king's authority was withdrawn out of that kingdom, he again (not having wherewithal to live any where else) transported himself into Ireland, made himself gracious with the Irish, and was by them sent into France, to desire the queen mother and the prince of Wales "to send the marquis "of Ormond to reassume his majesty's government "in that kingdom;" which was done accordingly, in the manner that is mentioned elsewhere.

The marquis of Antrim alleged all these particulars, and produced many original letters from the late king, (besides those which are mentioned,) the queen mother, and the prince, in all which his services had been acknowledged, and many promises made to him; and concluded with a full protestation, "that he desired no pardon for any thing that "he had ever done against the king; and if there "were the least proof that he had failed in his fide-

"lity to him, or had not according to the best of 1661.
"his understanding advanced his service, he looked
"for no favour. But if his being in the Irish quar-
"ters and consulting with them, without which he
"could not have made his levies for Scotland, nor
"transported them if he had levied them, and if his
"living amongst them afterwards, when his ma-
"jesty's authority[z] was drawn from thence, and
"when he could live no where else, do by the strict
"letter of the law expose him to ruin without his
"majesty's grace and favour, he did hope his ma-
"jesty would redeem him from that misery, and
"that the forfeiture of his estate should not be
"taken, as if he were a traitor and a rebel to the
"king." And it appeared that if he were restored to all he could pretend to, or of which he had ever been possessed, his debts were so great, and his creditors had those legal incumbrances upon his estate, that his condition at best would not be liable to much envy.

Though the king had been never taken notice of to have any great inclinations to the marquis, who was very little known to him; yet this representation and clear view of what he had done and what he had suffered, raised great compassion towards him in the royal breast of his majesty. And he thought it would in some degree reflect upon his own honour and justice, and upon the memory of his blessed father, if in a time when he passed by so many transgressions very heinous, he should leave the marquis exposed to the fury of his enemies, (who were only his enemies because they were possessed

[z] authority] *Omitted in MS.*

1661. of his estate, and because he desired to have his own from them,) for no other crime upon the matter, than for not having that prudence and that providence in his endeavours to serve the king, as he ought to have had; that is, he ought to have been wiser. And the rigour exercised towards him upon his first arrival, in sending him to the Tower, and afterwards into Ireland, by those who enough wished his destruction, and that they had not been able to make the least proof against him, improved his majesty's good disposition towards him. Yet he refused positively to write a letter to the commissioners on his behalf; which the marquis most importunately desired, as the only thing that could do him good. But his majesty directed a letter to be prepared to the lord lieutenant, in which all his allegations and suggestions should be set down, and the truth thereof examined by him; and that if he should be found to have committed no greater faults against the king, than those which he confessed, then that letter should be sent to the commissioners, that they might see both their majesties' testimonies in such particulars as were known to themselves. And this letter was very warily drawn, and being approved by his majesty, was sent accordingly to the lord lieutenant. And shortly after a copy of it signed by the king (who conceived it only to be a duplicate, lest the other should miscarry) was, contrary to his majesty's resolution, and contrary to the advice of the chancellor and without his knowledge, likewise sent to the commissioners; who had thereupon made such a decree as is before mentioned, and declared, "that they had made it only "upon that ground;" which gave his majesty some

trouble, and obliged him to insert a clause in the next bill concerning that affair. 1661.

And this was the whole proceeding that related to the marquis of Antrim: and it is yet very hard to comprehend, wherein there was more favour shewed towards him by his majesty, than he might in truth very reasonably pretend to, what noise soever was raised, and what glosses soever made; which proceeded only from the general dislike of the man, who had much more weakness than wickedness in him, and was an object rather of pity than of malice or envy.

When his majesty entered upon the debate of the third bill, which was transmitted to him for a supplement and addition to the other two, he quickly found the settlement proposed, and which was the end of the three bills, was now grown more difficult than ever. All the measures, which had formerly been taken from the great proportion of land which would remain to be disposed of, were no more to be relied upon, but appeared to have been a wrong foundation from the beginning; which was now made more desperate, by the vast proportions which had been assigned to the Irish by the commissioners' decrees: and somewhat had intervened by some acts of bounty from his majesty, which had not been carefully enough watched and represented to him.

The difficulties of a settlement increased,

By some improvident acts of bounty in the king.

The king had, upon passing the former bills, and upon discerning how much the Irish were like to suffer, resolved to retain all that should by forfeiture or otherwise come to his majesty in his own power; to the end, that when the settlement should be made, he might be able to gratify those of the Irish nation, who

1661. had any thing of merit[a] towards him, or had been least faulty. And if he had observed that resolution, very much of the trouble he underwent afterwards, had been prevented: for he would then, besides that which Cromwell had reserved to himself, (which was a vast tract of ground,) have had all those forfeitures which the regicides had been possessed of, and other criminal persons; which amounted to a huge quantity of the best land. And though the king had before designed all those forfeited lands to his brother the duke, yet his highness was so pleased with the resolution his majesty had taken, to retain them to that purpose, that he forbore to prosecute that grant, till he heard of great quantities of land every day granted away by his majesty to his servants and others; whereby he saw the main end would be disappointed. And then he resolved to be no longer a loser for the benefit of those, who had no pretence to what they got; and so proceeded in getting that grant from the king to himself of those lands designed to him.

This improvidence owing to the earl of Orrery.

The king had swerved from that rule, before it was scarce discerned: and the error of it may be very justly imputed to the earl of Orrery[b], and to none but him; who believing that he could never be well enough at court, except he had courtiers of all sorts obliged to him, who[c] would therefore speak well of him in all places and companies, (and those arts of his put the king to much trouble and loss both in England and Ireland,) he commended to many of such friends (though he had advised the

[a] of merit] *Omitted in MS.* [b] Orrery] Ormond [c] who] and

king to the former resolution) many suits of that kind, and sent certificates to them, oftentimes under his own hand, of the value those suits might be to them if obtained, and of the little importance the granting of them would be to his majesty; which, having been shewed to the king, disposed him to those concessions, which otherwise he would not so easily have made. Then he directed them a way (being then one of the lords justices) for the more immediate passing those grants they could obtain, without meeting those obstructions which they had been subject to; for when any of those grants had been brought to the great seal of England, the chancellor always stopped them, and put his majesty in mind of his former resolution: but this new way (in itself lawful enough) kept him from knowing any of those transactions, which were made by letters from the king to the lords justices; and thereupon the grants were prepared there, and passed under the great seal of Ireland. 1661.

This done without the chancellor's knowledge:

There was then likewise a new clause introduced into those grants, of a very new nature; for being grounded always upon letters out of England, and passed under the seal of Ireland, the letters were prepared and formed there, and transmitted hither only for his majesty's sign manual: so that neither[d] the king's learned council at law, nor any other his ministers, (the secretaries only excepted,) had any notice or the perusal of any of those grants. The clause was, "that if any of those lands so granted "by his majesty should be otherwise decreed, his "majesty's grantee should be reprised with other

And with an extraordinary clause inserted in the grants.

[d] neither] *Not in MS.*

1661. "lands:" so that in many cases, the greatest inducement to his majesty's bounty being the incertainty of his own right, which the person to whom it was granted was obliged to vindicate at his own charge, the king was now bound to make it good; if his grant was not valid. And so that which was but a contingent bounty, which commonly was the sole argument for the passing it, was now turned into a real and substantial benefit, as a debt; which created another difficulty in the settlement: which was yet the more hard, because there were many claims of the Irish themselves yet unheard, all the false admeasurements to be examined, and many other uncertainties to be determined by the commissioners; which left those who were in quiet possession, as well as those who were out of it, in the highest insecurity and apprehension.

This intricacy and even despair, which possessed all kind of people, of any settlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be proposed. They found his majesty very unwilling to consent to the repeal of the decrees made by the commissioners; which must have taken away the confidence and assurance of whatsoever was to be done hereafter, by making men see, that what was settled by one act of parliament might immediately be unsettled by another: so that there was no hope by that expedient to increase the number of acres, which being left might in any degree comply with the several pretences. The Irish found, that they might only be able to obstruct any settlement, but should never be able to get such a one as would turn to their own satisfaction. The soldiers and adventurers agreed less amongst themselves: and

the clamour was as great against those, who by false admeasurements had gotten more than they should have, as from those who had received less than was their due; and they who least feared any new examination could not yet have any secure title, before all the rest were settled. In a word, all men found that any settlement would be better than none; and that more profit would arise from a smaller proportion of land quietly possessed and husbanded accordingly, than from [e] a much greater proportion under a doubtful title and an incertainty, which must dishearten any industry and improvement. 1661.

Upon these considerations and motives, they met amongst themselves, and debated together by what expedient they might draw light out of this darkness. There appeared only one way which administered any reasonable hope; which was, by increasing the stock for reprisals to such a degree, that all men's pretences might in some measure be provided for: and there was no other way to arrive to this, but by every man's parting with somewhat which he thought to be his own. And to this they had one encouragement, that was of the highest prevalence with them, which was, that this way an end would be put to the illimited jurisdiction of the commissioners, (which was very terrible to all of them,) who from henceforth could have little other power, than to execute what should here be agreed upon.

In conclusion, they brought a proposition to the king, raised and digested between themselves, "that The different parties at last

[e] from] of.

1661. "all persons, who were to receive any benefit by
"this act, should abate and give a fourth part of
"what they had, towards the stock for reprisals;
"all which the commissioners should distribute
"amongst those Irish, who should appear most fit
"for his majesty's bounty." And this agreement
was so unanimous, that though it met with some
obstinate opposition after it was brought before the
king, yet the number of the opposers was so small
in respect of the others who agreed to it, that they
grew weary and ashamed of further contention.
And thereupon that third act of settlement, as sup-
plemental to the other two, was consented to by the
king; who, to publish to the world that nothing
stuck with him which seemed to reflect upon the
commissioners, resolved to make no change: and so
though two of them, who had offices here to dis-
charge, prevailed with his majesty that they might
not return again into Ireland; the other five were
continued, to execute what was more to be done by
this act, and so to perfect the settlement. And no
doubt it will be here said, that this expedient might
have been sooner found, and so prevented many of
those disorders and inconveniences which inter-
vened. But they who knew that time, and the per-
verseness and obstinacy that possessed all pretend-
ers, must confess that the season was never ripe
before: nor could their consent and agreement,
upon which this act was founded, ever be obtained
before.

agree upon an expedient for a settlement.

Hereupon the king passes the third act of settlement.

These were all the transactions which passed with
reference to Ireland, whilst the chancellor remained
at that board; in which he acted no more than any
other of the lords who were present did: except

when any difficulties occurred in their private meet- 1661.
ings and debates, they sometimes resorted to him for advice, which he was ready to give; being always willing to take any pains, which might make that very difficult work more easy to be brought to a good end. But as he never thought he deserved any reward for so doing, so he never expected the benefit of one shilling in money or in money's worth, for any thing he ever did in that affair; and was so far from entertaining any overture to that purpose, that it is notoriously known to many persons of honour, who, I presume, will be ready to testify the same, that when, upon his majesty's first return into England, some propositions were made to him of receiving the grant of some forfeited lands, and for the buying other lands there upon the desire of the owners thereof, and at so low a price that the very profit of the land would in a short time have paid for the purchase, and other overtures of immediate benefit in money, (which others did and lawfully might accept;) he rejected all propositions of that kind or relating to it, and declared publicly and privately, "that he would neither have lands in "Ireland nor the least benefit from thence, till all "differences and pretences in that kingdom should "be so fully settled and agreed, that there could be "no more appeal to the king, or repairing to the "king's council for justice; in which," he said, "he "should never be thought so competent an adviser, "if he had any title of his own in that kingdom to "bias his inclinations." And he was often heard to say, "that he never took a firmer resolution in any "particular in his life, than to adhere to that con-"clusion." Yet because it was notorious afterwards,

1661. that he did receive some money out of Ireland, and had a lawful title to receive more, (with which he was reproached when he could not answer for himself;) it may not be amiss in this place, for his vindication, to set down particularly how that came to pass, and to mention all the circumstances which preceded, accompanied, or attended that affair.

A vindication of the chancellor with regard to the Irish affairs.

In the bills which were first transmitted from Ireland after his majesty's happy return, there was an imposition of a certain sum of money upon some specified lands in several provinces, "which was[f] to "be paid to his majesty within a limited time, and "to be disposed of by his majesty to such persons "who had served him faithfully, and suffered in so "doing," or words to that effect; for he often protested that he never saw the act of parliament, and was most confident that he never heard of it at the time when it passed, he being often absent from the council, by reason of the gout or other accidents, when such matters were transacted. But two years after the king's return, or thereabout, he received a letter from the earl of Orrery, "that there would "be in his hands, and in the earl of Anglesea's and "the lord Massaren's," (who it seems were appointed treasurers to receive the money to be raised by that act of parliament,) "a good sum of money "for him; which he gave him notice of, to the end "that he might give direction for the disposal "thereof, whether he would have it returned into "England, or laid out in land in Ireland;" and he wished "that he would speedily send his direction, "because he was confident that the money would

[f] was] were

" be paid in, at least by the time that his letter 1661.
" could arrive there." No man can be more surprised, than the chancellor was at the receipt of this letter, believing that there was some mistake in it, and that his name might have been used in trust by somebody who had given him no notice of it. And without returning any answer to the earl of Orrery, he writ by that post to the lord lieutenant, to inform him of what the earl of Orrery had writ to him, and desired him to " inform him by his own " inquiry, what the meaning of it was."

Before he had an answer from the lord lieutenant, or indeed before his letter could come to the lord lieutenant's hands, he received a second letter from the earl of Orrery; in which he informed him, " that there was now paid in to his use the sum of " twelve thousand six hundred and odd pounds, and " that there would be the like sum again received " for him at the end of six months;" and sent him a particular direction, " to what person and in what " form he was to send his order for the payment of " the money." The chancellor still forbore to answer this letter, till he had received an answer to what he had written to the lord lieutenant, who then informed him at large, what title he had to that money, and how he came to have it: " that " shortly after the passing that act of parliament, " which had given his majesty the disposal of the " money before mentioned, the earl of Orrery had " come to him, the lord lieutenant, and putting him " in mind, how the chancellor had rejected all over- " tures which had been made to him of benefit " out of that kingdom," (which refusal, and many others that shew how unsolicitous he had always

1661. been in the ways of getting, is not more known to any man living than to the lord lieutenant,) "wished "that he would move the king to confer some part "of that money upon the chancellor; which the "lord lieutenant very willingly did, and his majesty "as cheerfully granted: that a letter was accordingly "prepared, and his majesty's royal signature pro- "cured by Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who was at the "same time commanded by the king not to let him "know of it; to which purpose there was likewise "a clause in the letter, whereby it was provided "that he should have no notice of it; which," the lord lieutenant said, "was by his majesty's direc- "tion, or with his approbation, because it was said, "that if he had notice of it, he would be so foolish "as to obstruct it himself. And there was a clause "likewise in the said letter, which directed the "payment of the said monies to his heirs, execu- "tors, or assigns, if he should die before the receipt "thereof."

The chancellor being so fully advertised of all this by the lord lieutenant, and of which till that time he had not the least notice or imagination, he desired secretary Nicholas to give him a copy of that letter, (which had been since passed as a grant to him under the great seal of Ireland, according to the form then used;) which the secretary gave him, with a large account of many gracious circum- stances in the king's granting it, and the obligation laid upon him of secrecy, and the great caution that was used that he might have no notice of it. After he was informed of all this, he did not think that there was any thing left for him to do, but to make his humble acknowledgment to his majesty

for his royal bounty, and to take care for the receiving and transmitting the money; and doubted not but that he might receive it very honestly. He did therefore wait upon his majesty with that duty that became him: and his majesty was graciously pleased to enlarge his bounty with those expressions of favour, and of the satisfaction he had vouchsafed to take himself in conferring his donative, that his joy was much greater from that grace, than in the greatness of the gift. 1661.

At the very same time, and the very day that the chancellor received the letter from the lord lieutenant, the earl of Portland came to him, and informed him of a difference that was fallen out between the lord Lovelace and sir Bulstrode Whitlock, upon a defect in the title to certain lands purchased heretofore by sir Bulstrode Whitlock from the lord Lovelace, and enjoyed by him ever since; but being by the necessity of that time, the delinquency of Lovelace and the power of Whitlock, bought and sold at an undervalue, and the time being now more equal, Lovelace resolved to have more money, or not to perform a covenant he had entered into; the not-performance whereof would leave the other's title very defective. The earl desired to reconcile those two, which could not be done without sale of the land: and so he proposed to the chancellor the buying this land, which lay next to some land he had in Wiltshire. This proposition was made[g] upon the very day, as is said before, that he had received the letter from the lord lieutenant of Ireland; by which it appeared that there was near as much

[g] was made] being made

1661. money already received for him, as would pay for that purchase, besides what was more to be received within six months after. The land was well known to the chancellor; so that upon a short conference with the parties, they all agreed upon the purchase: and he was easily prevailed with to undertake the payment of the greatest part of the money upon sealing the writings, not making the least doubt, but that he should by that time receive the money from Ireland; which was the sole ground and motive to his making that purchase.

But the next letters he received from Ireland informed him, "that the necessities of that kingdom "had been such, that they could only return six "thousand pounds of that money; and that they "had been compelled to make use of the rest for "the public, which would take care to repay it to "him in a short time:" and so he found himself engaged in a purchase which he could not retract, upon presumption of money which he could not receive. And he did not only never[h] after receive one penny of what was due upon the second payment, (which he so little suspected could fail, there being an act of parliament for the security, that he assigned it upon the marriage of his second son to him, as the best part of his portion;) but the remainder of the first sum, which was so borrowed or taken from him, or any part of it, was never[i] after paid to him or to his use: by which, and the inconveniences and damages which ensued to him from thence, he might reasonably say that he was a loser, and involved in a great debt, by that signal bounty of his majesty;

[h] never] ever [i] never] ever

and which was afterwards made matter of reproach to him, and as an argument of his corruption. But this is a very true account of that business, and of all the money that he ever received from Ireland, with all the circumstances thereof; which, in the judgment of all impartial men, cannot reflect to the prejudice of his integrity and honour. 1661.

And so we shall no further pursue or again resume any mention of the affairs of Ireland, though they will afford a large field of matter; but shall return to the beginning of the parliament, from whence we departed.

Transactions in parliament.

It cannot be expressed, hardly imagined, with what alacrity the parliament entered upon all particular affairs which might refer to the king's honour, safety, or profit. They pulled up all those principles of sedition and rebellion by the roots, which in their own observation had been the ground of or contributed to the odious and infamous rebellion in the long parliament. They declared, "that "sottish distinction between the king's person and "his office to be treason; that his negative voice "could not be taken from him, and was so essential "to the making a law, that no order or ordinance of "either house could be binding to the subject without it; that the militia was inseparably vested in "his majesty, and that it was high treason to raise "or levy soldiers without the king's commission." And because the license of speaking seditiously, and of laying scandalous imputations and aspersions upon the person of the king, as saying "that he was "a papist," and such like terms, to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, had been the prologue and principal ingredient to that rebel-

The king's prerogative asserted.

1661. lion, and corrupted the hearts of his loving subjects; they declared, "that the raising any calumnies of "that kind upon the king, as saying, 'that he is a "papist, or popishly affected,' or the like, should be "felony." In a word, they vindicated all his regalities and royal prerogatives, and provided for the safety of his person in as loving and ample a manner as he could wish: and towards raising and settling a revenue proportionable to his dignity and necessary expense, over and above the confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the last convention, they entered upon all the expedients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive propositions or advice from any body that might contribute thereunto. In all these public matters, no man could wish a more active spirit to be in them, than they were in truth possessed with.

The parliament unwilling to confirm the act of indemnity.

But in that which the king had principally recommended to them, the confirmation of the act of oblivion and indemnity, they proceeded very slowly, coldly, and unwillingly, notwithstanding the king's frequent messages to them "to despatch it, though "with the delay of those other things which they "thought did more immediately concern him." They had many agents and solicitors in the court, who thought that all that was released by that act might lawfully be distributed amongst them; and since the king had referred that whole affair to the parliament, he might well leave it to their judgments, without his own interposition. But his majesty looked upon himself as under another obligation both of honour and conscience, and upon the thing itself as more for the public peace and security, than any thing the parliament could provide instead

thereof; and therefore was very much troubled and offended at the apparent unwillingness to pass it. And thereupon he went himself to the house of peers, and sent for the commons, and told them, "that it was absolutely necessary to despatch that "bill, which he himself had sent to them near two "months before:" for it was now the eighth of July. His majesty told them, "that it was to put "himself in mind as well as them, that he so often, "as often as he came to them, mentioned to them "his declaration from Breda." And he said, "he "should put them in mind of another declaration, "published by themselves about that time, and "which he was persuaded made his the more ef- "fectual, an honest, generous, and Christian de- "claration, signed by the most eminent persons, "who had been the most eminent sufferers; in "which they renounced all former animosities, all "memory of former unkindnesses, vowed all ima- "ginable good-will and all confidence in each other." All which being pressed with so much instance by his majesty prevailed with them: and they then forthwith despatched that bill; and the king as soon confirmed it, and would not stay a few days, till other important bills should be likewise ready to be presented to him. 1661.

The king strenuously urges them to confirm it.

Whereupon they confirm it.

And there cannot be a greater instance of their desire to please his majesty from thenceforth, than that before that session was concluded, notwithstanding the prejudice the clergy had brought upon themselves (as I said before) upon their too much good husbandry in granting leases, and though the presbyterian party was not without an interest in both houses of parliament, they passed a bill for

1661. the repeal of that act of parliament, by which the bishops were excluded from sitting there. It was first proposed in the house of commons by a gentleman, who had been always taken to be of a presbyterian family: and in that house it found less opposition than was looked for; all men knowing, that besides the justice of it, and the prudence to wipe out the memory of so infamous an act, as the exclusion of them with all the circumstances was known to be, it would be grateful to the king.

The commons pass a bill for restoring bishops to their seats in parliament;

But when it came into the house of peers, where all men expected it would find a general concurrence, it met with some obstruction; which made a discovery of an intrigue, that had not been suspected. For though there were many lords present, who had industriously laboured the passing the former bill for the exclusion, yet they had likewise been guilty of so many other ill things, of which they were ashamed, that it was believed that they would not willingly revive the memory of the whole, by persevering in such an odious particular. Nor in truth did they. But when they saw that it would unavoidably pass, (for the number of that party was not considerable,) they either gave their consents, as many of them did, or gave their negative without noise. The obstruction came not from thence. The catholics less owned the contradiction, nor were guilty of it, though they suffered in it. But the truth is, it proceeded from the mercurial brain of the earl of Bristol, who much affected to be looked upon as the head of the catholics; which they did so little desire that he should be thought, that they very rarely concurred with him. He well knew that the king desired (which his majesty never dissem-

Which is obstructed in the house of lords by the earl of Bristol.

bled) to give the Roman catholics ease from all the sanguinary laws; and that he did not desire that they should be liable to the other penalties which the law had made them subject to, whilst they should in all other respects behave themselves like good subjects. Nor had they since his majesty's return sustained the least prejudice by their religion, but enjoyed as much liberty at court and in the country, as any other men; and with which the wisest of them were abundantly satisfied, and did abhor the activity of those of their own party, whom[k] they did believe more like to deprive them of the liberty they enjoyed, than to enlarge it to them. 1661.

When the earl of Bristol saw this bill brought into the house for restoring the bishops to their seats, he went to the king, and informed his majesty, "that if this bill should speedily pass, it "would absolutely deprive the catholics of all those "graces and indulgence which he intended to them; "for that the bishops, when they should sit in the "house, whatever their own opinions or inclinations "were, would find themselves obliged, that they "might preserve their reputation with the people, "to contradict and oppose whatsoever should look "like favour or connivance towards the catholics: "and therefore, if his majesty continued his former "gracious inclination towards the Roman catholics, "he must put some stop (even for the bishops' "own sakes) to the passing that bill, till the other "should be more advanced, which he supposed might "shortly be done;" there having been already some overtures made to that purpose, and a committee

[k] whom] which

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1661. appointed in the house of lords to take a view of all the sanguinary laws in matters of religion, and to present them to the house, that it might consider further of them[l]. The king, surprised with the discourse from a man who had often told him the necessity of the restoring the bishops, and that it could not be a perfect parliament without their presence, thought his reason for the delay to have weight in it, and that the delay for a few days could be attended with no prejudice to the matter itself; and thereupon was willing the bill should not be called for[m], and that when it should be under commitment, it should be detained there for some time; and that he might, the better to produce this delay, tell some of his friends, "that the king would "be well pleased, that there should not be over-"much haste in the presenting that bill for his royal "assent."

This grew quickly to be taken notice of in the house, that after the first reading of that bill, it had been put off for a second reading longer than was usual, when the house was at so much leisure; and that now it was under commitment, it was obstructed there, notwithstanding all the endeavours some lords of the committee could use for the despatch; the bill containing very few words, being only for the repeal of a former act, and the expressions admitting, that is, giving little cause for any debate. The chancellor desired to know how this came to pass; and was informed by one of the lords of the committee, "that they were assured that the "king would have a stop put to it, till another bill

[l] of them] of it [m] for] upon

"should be provided, which his majesty looked for." 1661.
Hereupon the chancellor spake with his majesty, who told him all the conference which the earl of Bristol had held with him, and what he had consented should be done. To which the other replied, "that he was sorry that his majesty had been prevailed with to give any obstruction to a bill, which "every body knew his majesty's heart was so much "set upon for despatch; and that if the reason were "known, it would quickly put an end to all the pre"tences of the catholics; to which his majesty knew "he was no enemy." The king presently concluded that the reason was not sufficient, and wished, "that the bill might be despatched as soon "as was possible, that he might pass it that ses"sion;" which he had appointed to make an end of within few days: and so the next day the report was called for and made, and the bill ordered to be engrossed against the next morning; the earl not being at that time in the house. But the next morning, when the chancellor had the bill engrossed in his hand to present to the house to be read the third time, the earl came to him to the woolsack, and with great displeasure and wrath in his countenance told him, "that if that bill were read that "day, he would speak against it;" to which the chancellor gave him an answer that did not please him: and the bill was passed that day. And from that time the earl of Bristol was a more avowed and declared enemy to him, than he had before professed to be; though the friendship that had been between them had been discontinued or broken, from the time the earl had changed his religion.

But is at last passed.

The king within few days came to the parlia-

1661. ment, to give his royal assent to those bills which were prepared for him; and then told them, "that "he did thank them with all his heart, indeed as "much as he could for any thing, for the repeal of "that act which excluded the bishops from sitting "in parliament." He said, "it was an unhappy "act in an unhappy time, passed with many un- "happy circumstances, and attended with miserable "events; and therefore he did again thank them "for repealing it: and that they had thereby re- "stored parliaments to their primitive institutions."

The parliament adjourned.

This was upon the thirtieth of July 1661, when the parliament was adjourned to the twentieth of November following.

Because we have mentioned the gracious purposes the king had to his Roman catholic subjects, of which afterwards much use was made to his disservice, to which the vanity and presumption of many of that profession contributed very much; it may not be unseasonable in this place to mention the ground of that his majesty's goodness, and the reasons why that purpose of his was not prosecuted to the purpose it was intended, after so fair a rise towards it, by the appointment of that committee in the house of peers, which is remembered above.

The true ground of the king's favour to the Roman catholics

It is not to be wondered at, that the king, at the age he was of when the troubles began in England, and when he came out of England, knew very little of the laws which had been long since made and were still in force against Roman catholics, and less of the grounds and motives which had introduced those laws. And from the time that he was first beyond the seas, he could not be without hearing very much spoken against the protestant religion,

and more for extolling and magnifying the religion of the church of Rome; neither of which discourses made any impression upon him. After the defeat at Worcester, and his escape from thence into France, the queen his mother (who had very punctually complied with the king her husband's injunctions, in not suffering any body to endeavour to pervert the prince her son in his religion, and when he came afterwards into France after he was king, continued[n] the same reservation) used[o] much more sharpness in her discourse against the protestants, than she had been accustomed to. The liberty that his majesty formerly had in the Louvre, to have a place set aside for the exercise of his religion, was taken away: and continual discourses were made by the queen in his presence, "that he had now no "hope ever to be restored to his dominions, but by "the help of the catholics; and therefore that he "must apply himself to them in such a way, as "might induce them to help him." 1661.

About this time there was a short collection and abridgment made of all the penal laws, which had been made and which were still in force in England against the Roman catholics; "that all priests for "saying mass were to be put to death;" the great penalties which they were to undergo, who entertained or harboured a priest in their house, or were present at mass, and the like; with all other envious clauses, which were in any acts of parliament, that had been enacted upon several treasons and conspiracies of the Roman catholics, in the reigns of

[n] continued] her majesty continued

[o] used] but after his majesty's return and escape from Worcester the queen used

1661. queen Elizabeth and king James. And this collection they caused to be translated into French and into Latin, and scattered it abroad in all places, after they had caused copies of it to be presented to the queen mother of France, and to the cardinal: so that the king came into no place where those papers were not shewed to him, and where he was not seriously asked, "whether it was a true collection "of the laws of England," and "whether it was "possible that any Christian kingdom could exer- "cise so much tyranny against the catholic reli- "gion." The king, who had never heard of these particulars, did really believe that the paper was forged, and answered, "he did not believe that there "were such laws:" and when he came to his lodgings, he gave the chancellor the paper, and bade him read it, and tell him, "whether such laws were in "force in England." He had heard before of the scattering of those papers, and knew well who had made the collection; who had been a lawyer, and was a protestant, but had too good an opinion of the Roman catholics, and desired too much to be grateful to them.

The chancellor found an opportunity the next day to enlarge upon the paper to his majesty, and informed him of "the seasons in which, and the "occasions and provocations upon which, those laws "had been made; of the frequent treasons and con- "spiracies which had been entered into by some "Roman catholics, always with the privity and ap- "probation of their priests and confessors, against "the person and life of queen Elizabeth; and after "her death, of the infamous and detestable gun- "powder treason to have destroyed king James and

" his posterity, with the whole nobility of the king- 1661.
" dom: so that in those times, the pope having ex-
" communicated the whole kingdom, and absolved
" the subjects from all their oaths of fidelity, there
" seemed no expedient to preserve the crown, but
" the using these severities against those who were
" professed enemies to it. But that since those
" times, that the Roman catholics had lived quietly,
" that rigour had not been used: and that the king
" his father's clemency towards those of that pro-
" fession (which clemency extended no further than
" the dispensing with the utmost rigour of the laws)
" was the ground of the scandal of his being po-
" pishly affected, that contributed as much to his
" ruin, as any particular malice in the worst of his
" enemies."

The king hearkened attentively to all that was said, and then answered, " that he could not doubt " but there was some very extraordinary reason for " the making such strange laws: but whatever the " reason then was, that it was at present and for " many years past very evident, that there was no " such malignity in the Roman catholics, that should " continue that heavy yoke upon their necks. That " he knew well enough, that if he were in England, " he had not in himself the power to repeal any act " of parliament, without the consent of parliament: " but that he knew no reason why he might not " profess, that he did not like those laws which " caused men to be put to death for their religion; " and that he would do his best, if ever God re-" stored him to his kingdom, that those bloody laws " might be repealed. And that if there were no " other reason of state than he could yet compre-

1661. "hend, against the taking away the other penalties, "he should be glad that all those distinctions be- "tween his subjects might be removed; and that "whilst they were all equally good subjects, they "might equally enjoy his protection." And his majesty did frequently, when he was in the courts of catholic princes, and when he was sure to hear the sharpness of the laws in England inveighed against, enlarge upon the same discourse: and it had been a very unseasonable presumption in any man, who would have endeavoured to have dissuaded him from entertaining that candour in his heart.

With this gracious disposition his majesty returned into England; and received his catholic subjects with the same grace and frankness, that he did his other: and they took all opportunities to extol their own sufferings, which they would have understood to have been for him. And some very noble persons there were, who had served his father very worthily in the war, and suffered as largely afterwards for having done so: but the number of those was not great, but much greater than of those who shewed any affection to him or for him, during the time of his absence, and the government of the usurper. Yet some few there were, even of those who had suffered most for his father, who did send him supply when he was abroad, though they were hardly able to provide necessaries for themselves: and in his escape from Worcester, he received extraordinary benefit, by the fidelity of many poor people of that religion; which his majesty was never reserved in the remembrance of. And this gracious disposition in him did not then appear ingrateful to any. And then, upon an address made to the house

of peers in the name of the Roman catholics, for some relaxation of those laws which were still in force against them, the house of peers appointed that committee which is mentioned before, to examine and report all those penal statutes, which reached to the taking away the life of any Roman catholic, priest, or layman, for his religion; there not appearing one lord in the house, who seemed to be unwilling that those laws should be repealed. And after that committee was appointed, the Roman catholic lords and their friends for some days diligently attended it, and made their observations upon several acts of parliament, in which they desired ease. But on a sudden this committee was discontinued, and never after revived; the Roman catholics never afterwards being solicitous for it. 1661.

A committee of the lords for relaxing the penal laws against the Roman catholics.

The argument was now to be debated amongst themselves, that they might agree what would please them: and then there quickly appeared that discord and animosity between them, that never was nor ever will be extinguished; and of which the state might make much other use than it hath done. The lords and men of estates were not satisfied, in that they observed the good-nature of the house did not appear to extend further, than the abolishing those laws which concerned the lives of the priests, which did not much affect them: for besides that those spectacles were no longer grateful to the people, they were confident that they should not be without men to discharge those functions; and the number of such was more grievous to them than the scarcity. That which they desired was, the removal of those laws, which being let loose would deprive them of so much of their estates, that

The Roman catholics disagree amongst themselves.

1661. the remainder would not preserve them from poverty. This indulgence would indeed be grateful to them; for the other they cared not. Nor were the ecclesiastics at all pleased with what was proposed for their advantage, but looked upon themselves as deprived of the honour of martyrdom by this remission, that[p] they might undergo restraints, which would be more grievous than death itself: and they were very apprehensive, that there would remain some order of them excluded, as there was even a most universal prejudice against the Jesuits; or that there would be some limitation of their numbers, which they well knew the catholics in general would be very glad of, though they could not appear to desire it[q].

There was a committee chosen amongst them of the superiors of all orders, and of the secular clergy, that sat at Arundel house, and consulted together with some of the principal lords and others of the prime quality of that religion, what they should say or do in such and such cases which probably might fall out. They all concluded, at least apprehended, that they should never be dispensed with in respect of the oaths, which were enjoined to be taken by all men, without their submitting to take some other oath, that might be an equal security of and for their fidelity to the king, and the preservation of the peace of the kingdom. And there had been lately scattered abroad some printed papers, written by some regular and secular clergy, with sober propositions to that purpose, and even the form of an oath and subscription to be taken or made by all catho-

[p] that] and that

[q] it] *Not in MS.*

lics; in which there was an absolute renunciation 1661.
or declaration against the temporal authority of the pope, which, in all common discourses amongst the protestants, all Roman catholics made no scruple to renounce and disclaim: but it coming now to be the subject-matter of the debate in this committee, the Jesuits declared with much warmth, "that they "ought not, nor could they with a good conscience "as catholics, deprive the pope of his temporal au- "thority, which he hath in all kingdoms granted "to him by God himself," with very much to that purpose; with which most of the temporal lords, and very many of the seculars and regulars, were so much scandalized, that the committee being broken up for that time, they never attended it again; the wiser and the more conscientious men discerning, that there was a spirit in the rest that was raised and governed by a passion, of which they could not comprehend the ground. And the truth is, the Jesuits, and they who adhered to them, had entertained great hopes from the king's too much grace to them, and from the great liberty they enjoyed; and promised themselves and their friends another kind of indulgence, than they saw was intended to them by the house of peers. And this was the reason that that committee was no more looked after, nor any public address was any further prosecuted.

Upon which the committee is discontinued.

And from this time there[r] every day appeared so much insolence[s] and indiscretion amongst the imprudent catholics, that they brought so many scandals upon his majesty, and kindled so much jealousy in the parliament, that there grew a general aversion

[r] there] there was

[s] appeared so much insolence] so much insolence appeared

1661. towards them. And the king's party remembered, with what wariness and disregard the Roman catholics had lived towards them in the whole time of the usurpation; and how little sorrow they made show of upon the horrid murder of the king, (which was then exceedingly taken notice of:) and they who had been abroad with the king remembered, that his majesty had received less regard and respect from his catholic subjects, wherever he found them abroad, than from any [t] foreign catholics; who always received him with all imaginable duty, whilst his own looked as if they had no dependance upon him. And so we return to the parliament after its adjournment.

The parliament meets again.

The parliament, that had been adjourned upon the thirtieth of July, met again upon the twentieth of November, with the same zeal and affection to advance the king's service. And the king himself came to them upon the same day they met, and told them, "that he knew that visit was not of course; "yet if there were no more in it, it would not be "strange, that he came to see what he and they had "so long desired to see, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of England, met together "to consult for the peace and safety of the church "and state, by which parliaments were restored to "their primitive lustre and integrity:" his majesty said, "he did heartily congratulate with them for "that day." But he told them withal, "that he "came thither upon another occasion; which was "to say somewhat to them on his own behalf, to "ask somewhat of them for himself, which was

The king's speech.

[t] any] any other

" more than he had done of them, or of those who 1661.
" met before them, since his coming into England.
" Nor did he think, that what he had to say to them
" did alone, or did most concern himself: if the un-
" easy condition he was in, if the straits and neces-
" sities he was to struggle with, did not manifestly
" relate to the public peace and safety, more than
" to his own particular, otherwise than as he was
" concerned in the public, he would not give them
" that trouble that day; he could bear his necessi-
" ties which merely related to himself, with patience
" enough."

He told them, " that he did not importune them
" to make more haste in the settling the constant
" revenue of the crown, than was agreeable to the
" method they had proposed to themselves, nor to
" consider the insupportable weight that lay upon
" it, the obligations it lay under to provide for the
" interest, honour, and security of the nation, in an-
" other proportion than in any former times it had
" been obliged to: his majesty well knew, that they
" had very affectionately and worthily taken all that
" into their thoughts, and would proceed in it with
" expedition: but that he came to put them in mind
" of the crying debts which did every day call upon
" him, of some necessary provisions, which were to
" be made without delay for the very safety of the
" kingdom, of the great sum of money that should
" be ready to discharge the several fleets when they
" came home, and for the necessary preparations
" that were to be made for the setting out new fleets
" to sea against the next spring. These were the
" pressing occasions which he was forced to recom-
" mend to them with all possible earnestness, and

1661. "he did conjure them to provide for as speedily
"as was possible, and in such a manner as might
"give them security at home, and some reputation
"abroad." His majesty said, "that he made this
"discourse to them with some confidence, because
"he was very willing and desirous that they should
"thoroughly examine, whether those necessities
"which he mentioned were real or imaginary, or
"whether they were fallen upon him by his own
"fault, his own ill managery, or excesses, and pro-
"vide for them accordingly. He was very willing
"that they should make a full inspection into his
"revenue, as well the disbursements as receipts;
"and if they should find that it had been ill ma-
"naged by any corruptions in the officers he trusted,
"or by his own unthriftiness, he should take the
"advice and information they should give him very
"kindly."

He told them, "that he was very sorry that the
"general temper and affections of the nation were
"not so well composed, as he hoped they would
"have been, after so signal blessings from God Al-
"mighty upon them all, and after so great indul-
"gence and condescensions from him towards all in-
"terests. But that there were many wicked instru-
"ments still as active as ever, who laboured night and
"day to disturb the public peace, and to make all peo-
"ple jealous of each other: it would be worthy their
"care and vigilance to provide proper remedies for
"the diseases of that kind; and if they should find
"new diseases, they must study new remedies. For
"those difficulties which concerned matters in re-
"ligion," his majesty confessed to them, "that they
"were too hard for him; and therefore he did re-

"commend them to their care and discretion, which 1661.
"could best provide for them."

The two houses were abundantly pleased with all that his majesty had said to them, and immediately betook them to the consideration of those particulars, which he had principally recommended to them. And though for the present they looked upon that clause of his majesty's speech, wherein he referred to them to make an inspection into his revenue and his expenses, but as a generous and princely condescension, which would not become them to make use of, (nor indeed had they at that time the least prejudice to or jealousy of any, who were of the nearest trust about his majesty;) yet four years after, when the expenses had grown to be much greater, and it may be all disbursements not so warrantable, and when the factions in court and parliament were at a great height, and men made use of public pretences to satisfy their private animosities and malice, they made use of that frank offer of his majesty, to entitle themselves to make inquisition into public and private receipts and disbursements, in a very extraordinary manner never practised before.

The reasons why the king's debts were so great.

Let no man wonder, that within so little time as a year and a half, or very little more, after the king's return, that is, from May to November in the next year, and after so great sums of money raised by acts of parliament upon the people, his majesty's debts could be so crying and importunate, as to disturb him to that degree as he expressed. It was never enough understood, that in all that time he never received from the parliament more than the seventy thousand pounds towards his coronation; nor were the debts which were now so grievous to him

1661. contracted by himself, (though it cannot be supposed but that he had contracted debts himself in that time:) all the money that had been given and raised had been applied to the payment of the land and sea forces, and had done neither. Parliaments do seldom make their computations right, but reckon what they give to be much more than is ever received, and what they are to pay to be as much less than in truth they owe; so that when all the money that was collected was paid, there remained still very much due to the soldiers, and much more to the seamen: and the clamour from both reached the king's ears, as if they had been levied by his warrant and for his service. And his majesty understood too well, by the experience of the ill husbandry of the last year, when both the army and the ships were so long continued in pay, for want of money to disband and pay them off, what the trouble and charge would be, if the several fleets should return before money was provided to discharge the seamen; and for that the clamour would be only upon him.

But there was an expense that he had been engaged in from the time of his return, and by which he had contracted a great debt, of which very few men could take notice; nor could the king think fit to discover it, till he had first provided against the mischief which might have attended the discovery. It will hardly be believed, that in so warlike an age, and when the armies and fleets of England had made more noise in the world for twenty years, had fought more battles at land and sea, than all the world had done besides, or any one people had done in any age before; and when at his ma-

jesty's return there remained a hundred ships at sea, and an army of near threescore thousand men at land; there should not be in the Tower of London, and in all the stores belonging to the crown, fire-arms enough, nor indeed of any other kind, to arm three thousand men; nor powder and naval provisions enough to set out five ships of war. 1661.

From the death of Cromwell, no care had been taken for supplies of any of the stores. And the changes which ensued in the government, and putting out and in new officers; the expeditions of Lambert against sir George Booth, and afterwards into the north; and other preparations for those factions and parties which succeeded each other; and the continual opportunities which the officers had for embezzlement; and lastly, the setting out that fleet which was sent to attend upon the king for his return; had so totally drained the stores of all kinds, that the magazines were no better replenished than is mentioned before: which as soon as his majesty knew, as he could not be long ignorant of it, the first care he took was to conceal it, that it might not be known abroad or at home, in how ill a posture he was to defend himself against an enemy. And then he committed the care of that province to a noble person, whom he knew he could not trust too much, and made sir William Compton master of the ordnance, and made all the shifts he could devise for monies, that the work might be begun. And hereby insensibly he had contracted a great debt: and these were part of the crying debts, and the necessary provisions which were to be made without delay for the very safety of the kingdom, which he told the parliament.

1661. And in this he had laboured so effectually, that at the time when the first Dutch war was entered into, all the stores were more completely supplied and provided for, and the ships and all naval provisions in greater strength and plenty, than they had ever been in the reign of any former king, or in the time of the usurper himself.

That part of the king's speech, of the distempers in the nation by the differences in religion, which he confessed were too hard for him, and recommended the composing them to their care and deliberation, gives me a seasonable opportunity to enter upon the relation, how that affair stood at that time, and how far the distractions of those several factions were from being reconciled, though episcopacy seemed to be fully restored, and the bishops to their votes in parliament; which had been looked upon as the most sovereign remedy, to cure, reform, or extinguish all those maladies. The bishops had spent the vacation in making such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, as they thought would make it more grateful to the dissenting brethren, for so the schismatical party called themselves; and such additions, as in their judgments the temper of the present time and the past miscarriages required. It was necessarily to be presented to the convocation, which is the national synod of the church; and that did not sit during the recess of the parliament, and so came not together till the end of November: where the consideration of it took up much time; all men offering such alterations and additions, as were suitable to their own fancies, and the observations which they had made in the time of confusion.

An account of the revisal of the Liturgy.

The bishops were not all of one mind. Some of them, who had greatest experience, and were in truth wise men, thought it best "to restore and "confirm the old Book of Common Prayer, without "any alterations and additions; and that it would "be the best vindication the Liturgy and govern- "ment of the church could receive, that after so "many scandals and reproaches cast upon both, and "after a bloody rebellion and a war[u] of twenty "years, raised, as was pretended, principally against "both, and which had prevailed and triumphed in "the total suppression and destruction of both, they "should now be restored to be in all respects the "same they had been before. Whereas any altera- "tions and additions (besides the advantage it might "give to the common adversary, the papist, who "would be apt to say that we had reformed and "changed our religion again) would raise new scru- "ples in the factious and schismatical party, that "was ashamed of all the old arguments, which had "so often been answered, and stood at present ex- "ploded in the judgment of all sober men; but "would recover new spirits to make new objections, "and complain that the alterations and additions "are more grievous and burdensome to the liberty "of their conscience, than those of which they had "formerly complained." 1661. Some of the bishops are against all alterations in the Liturgy.

Others, equally grave, of great learning and unblemished reputation, pressed earnestly both for the alterations and additions; said, "that it was a com- "mon reproach upon the government of the church, "that it would not depart from the least unneces- Others of them press earnestly for some.

[u] a war] wars

1661. "sary expression or word, nor explain the most in-
"significant ceremony; which would quiet or re-
"move the doubts and jealousies of many conscien-
"tious men, that they did in truth signify somewhat
"that was not intended: and therefore, since some
"powerful men of that troublesome party had made
"it their earnest request, that some such alterations
"and additions might be made [x], and professed that
"it would give great satisfaction to many very good
"men; it would be great pity, now there was a fit
"opportunity for it, which had not been in former
"times of clamour, not to gratify them in those
"small particulars, which did not make any impor-
"tant difference from what was before." It may be there were some, who believed that the victory and triumph of the church would be with the more lustre, if somewhat were inserted, that might be understood to reflect upon the rude and rebellious behaviour of the late times, which had been regulated and conducted by that clergy: and so both additions and alterations were made.

The former opinion the more prudent.

But the truth is, what show of reason soever and appearance of charity the latter opinion seemed to carry with it, the former advice was the more prudent, and would have prevented many inconveniences which ensued. Whatever had been pretended or desired, the alterations which were made to please them did not reduce one of them to the obedience of the church; and the additions raised the clamour higher than it had been. And when it was evident that they should not be left longer without a Liturgy, they cried aloud for the same

[x] be made] *Omitted in MS.*

they had before, though they had inveighed against it for near a hundred years together. 1661.

It is an unhappy policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that classis of men can be recovered and reconciled by partial concessions, or granting less than they demand. And if all were granted, they would have more to ask, somewhat as a security for the enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their power, and shake the whole frame of the government. Their faction is their religion: nor are those combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever, but consist of many glutinous materials, of will, and humour, and folly, and knavery, and ambition, and malice, which make[y] men cling inseparably together, till they have satisfaction in all their pretences, or till they are absolutely broken and subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other. And if some few, how signal soever, (which often deceives us,) are separated and divided from the herd upon reasonable overtures, and secret rewards which make the overtures look the more reasonable; they are but so many single men, and have no more credit and authority (whatever they have had) with their companions, than if they had never known them, rather less; being less mad than they were makes them thought to be less fit to be believed. And they, whom[z] you think you have recovered, carry always a chagrin about them, which makes them good for nothing, but for instances to divert you from any more of that kind of traffick.

The unhappy policy of making concessions to the dissenters.

[y] make] makes

[z] whom] who

1661. And it is very strange, that the clergy did not at this time remember what had so lately befallen the poor church of Scotland, upon the transmission of their Liturgy, which had been composed with this very prospect that now dazzled their eyes. "To "receive a Liturgy from England was below the dig- "nity of that nation, which were governed by their "own laws, without[a] dependance upon any other. "Besides there were many errors in that Liturgy "that they could never submit to, and some defects "which ought to be supplied; and if such a one "should be compiled, in which all those exceptions, "which were well enough known, might be provided "for, they would gladly receive it." All this was carefully performed; and what reception it had afterwards is too well known, and will ever be remembered by the scars which still remain from those wounds. And then the great objection that was most impudently urged was, "that it differed from "the Liturgy of the church of England, which they "were ready to have received, and would have de- "clared to the world, that the two nations had but "one religion; whereas the book sent to them would "have manifested the contrary, and was the pro- "duct of a few particular men, to whose spirit and "humour they would not sacrifice their native li- "berty of conscience."

None of the dissenters gained by the concessions now made.

They of the same fraternity in England at this present governed themselves by the same method, though, God be thanked, not yet with the same success. And there is great reason to believe, that the very men, who laboured so much for the alterations

[a] without] with

which were made, and professed to receive so much satisfaction in them, did it for no other end, but to procure more opportunity to continue and enlarge the contentions; and to gain excuse and credit to the ill things they had done, by the redress and reparation that was given them in the amendment of many particulars, against which they had always complained. There was not one of them who had used that importunity and made that profession, who afterwards was conformable to the government of the church, or frequented those churches where or when the Liturgy was used. 1661.

Whilst the clergy was busy and solicitous to prepare this remedy for the present distempers, the people of all the several factions in religion assumed more license than ever they had done. The presbyterians in all their pulpits inveighed against the Book of Common Prayer that they expected, and took the same liberty to inveigh against the government of the church, as they had been accustomed to before the return of the king; with reflections[b] upon the persons of the bishops, as if they assumed a jurisdiction that was yet at least suspended. And the other factions in religion, as if by concert, took the same liberty in their several congregations. The anabaptists and the quakers made more noise than ever, and assembled together in greater numbers, and talked what reformations they expected in all particulars. These insolences offended the parliament very much: and the house of commons expressed much impatience, that the Liturgy was so long in preparation, that the act of uniformity might 1662. The factious preachers assume much license.

[b] reflections] reflection

1662. without delay be passed and published; not without some insinuations and reflections, that his majesty's candour, and admission of all persons to resort to his presence, and his condescension to confer with them, had raised their spirits to an insolence insupportable; and that nothing could reduce them to the temper of good subjects, but the highest severity.

It is very true, from the time of his majesty's coming into England, he had not been reserved in the admission of those who had been his greatest enemies, to his presence. The presbyterian ministers he received with grace; and did believe that he should work upon them by persuasions, having been well acquainted with their common arguments by the conversation he had had in Scotland, and was very able to confute them. The independents had as free access, both that he might hinder any conjunction between the other factions, and because they seemed wholly to depend upon his majesty's will and pleasure, without resorting to the parliament, in which they had no confidence; and had rather that episcopacy should flourish again, than that the presbyterians should govern. The king had always admitted the quakers for his divertisement and mirth, because he thought, that of all the factions they were the most innocent, and had least of malice in their natures against his person and his government: and it was now too late, though he had a worse opinion of them all, to restrain them from coming to him, till there should be some law made to punish them; and therefore he still called upon the bishops, to cause the Liturgy to be expedited in the convocation. And finding that those distempers had that influence upon the house of

commons, that the displeasure and jealousy which they conceived from thence did retard their counsels, and made them less solicitous to advance his service in the settling his revenue, they having sat near three months after their coming together again upon their adjournment, without making any considerable progress in it; he sent for the speaker and the house of commons to attend him at Whitehall, where he spake unto them, though very graciously, in a style that seemed to have more of expostulation and reprehension than they had been accustomed to. 1662.

The king sends for the house of commons to attend him at Whitehall, March 1.

He said, "he spake his heart to them when he "told them, that he did believe, that from the first "institution of parliaments to that hour, there had "never been a house of commons fuller of affection "and duty to their king, than they were to him; "never any that was more desirous and solicitous "to gratify their king, than they were to oblige "him; never a house of commons, in which there "were fewer persons without a full measure of zeal "for the honour and welfare of the king and coun- "try, than there are in this: in a word," he said, "he knew most of their persons and names, and "could never hope to find better men in their places. "Yet after all this, he could not but lament, and "even complain, that he and they and the kingdom "were yet without that present fruit and advantage, "which they might reasonably promise themselves "from such a harmony of affections, and unity in "resolutions to advance the public service, and to "provide for the peace and security of the kingdom; "that they did not expedite those good counsels, "which were most necessary for both. He knew "not how it came to pass, but for many weeks past,

His speech to them.

1662. " even since their last adjournment, private and par-
" ticular business had almost thrust the considera-
" tion of the public out of doors; and he did not
" know that they were nearer the settling his re-
" venue, than they had been at Christmas. He was
" sure he had communicated his condition to them
" without reserve; what he had coming in, and
" what his necessary disbursements were. And," he said, " he was exceedingly deceived, if whatever
" they gave him were any otherwise given to him,
" than to be issued out for their own use and be-
" nefit; and if they considered it well, they would
" find that they were the richer by what they gave;
" since it was all to be laid out that they might en-
" joy the rest in peace and security."

He said, " he need not put them in mind of the
" miserable effects, that had attended the wants and
" necessities of the crown; that he needed not to
" tell them, that there was a republican party still
" in the kingdom, which had the courage still to
" promise themselves another revolution: and he
" thought he had as little need to tell them, that
" the only way, with God's blessing, to disappoint
" their hopes, and indeed to reduce them from
" those extravagant hopes and desires, was, to let
" them see that they had so provided for the crown,
" that it had wherewithal to support itself, and
" to secure his people; which he was sure was all
" he desired, and desired only for their preserva-
" tion. Therefore he conjured them, by all the pro-
" fessions of affection which they had made to him,
" by all the kindness which he knew they had for
" him, that they would, after all their deliberations,
" betake themselves to some speedy resolutions, and

" settle such a real and substantial revenue upon 1662.
" him, as might hold some proportion with the ne-
" cessary expenses he was at for the peace and be-
" nefit and honour of the kingdom; that they who
" looked for troubles at home might despair of their
" wishes; and that our neighbours abroad, by seeing
" that all is well at home, might have that esteem
" and value of his majesty, as might secure the ho-
" nour and interest of the nation, and make the
" happiness of the kingdom and of that city once
" more the admiration and envy of the world."

He told them, " that he heard that they were
" very zealous for the church, and very solicitous
" and even jealous that there was not expedition
" enough used in that affair: he thanked them for
" it, since he presumed that it proceeded from a
" good root of piety and devotion. But," he said,
" that he must tell them, that he had the worst luck
" in the world, if after all the reproaches of being a
" papist while he was abroad, he was suspected to
" be a presbyterian now he was come home. He
" knew they would not take it unkindly, if he told
" them, that he was as zealous for the church of
" England as any of them could be, and was enough
" acquainted with the enemies of it on all sides; that
" he was as much in love with the Book of Common
" Prayer as they could wish, and had prejudice
" enough to those who did not love it, who he hoped
" in time would be better informed, and so change
" their minds; and they might be confident, he did
" as much desire to have an uniformity settled, as
" any man amongst them. He prayed them to trust
" him in that affair, and promised them to hasten
" the despatch of it with all convenient speed; they

1662. " might rely upon him in it." He said, " he had " transmitted the Book of Common Prayer, with " those alterations and additions which had been " presented to him by the convocation, to the house " of peers with his approbation, that the act of uni- " formity might relate to it; so that he presumed " that it would shortly be despatched there: and " that when they had done all they could," he said, " the well settling that affair would require great " prudence and discretion, and the absence of all " passion and precipitation."

His majesty concluded with assuring them, " that " he did promise himself great fruits from that con- " versation he had with them, and that they would " justify the confidence he had in their affections, " by letting the world see, that they took his con- " cernments to heart, and were ready to do what- " soever he desired for the peace and welfare of the " kingdom."

The Liturgy presented to the house of lords with the king's confirmation;

When the Book of Common Prayer was, by the king's command, presented to the house of lords by the two archbishops (for it had been approved [c] by the convocation of the province of York, as well as by [d] that of Canterbury) confirmed by his majesty under the great seal of England; the book itself took up no debate: only the earl of Northumberland proposed, " that the old Book of Common Prayer " might be confirmed without any alteration or ad- " dition, and then the same act of uniformity, " that had been in the time of queen Elizabeth, " would be likewise applied to it; whereas a new " act of uniformity might take up much time and

[c] approved] approved as well.

" raise much debate, all which would be avoided by 1662.
" adhering to the old."

Whatever that lord's opinion was, he was known to be of the presbyterian party. And it was answered, " that if that proposition had been heartily made " when the king came into England, it would have " met with a general approbation, and prevented " much sharpness and animosity, which had since " risen by those who opposed that excellent form. " But after the clergy had so bitterly inveighed " against many parts thereof, and prevailed with " his majesty to suspend the use of it till it might " be revised, as by his declaration of the five and " twentieth of October he had done, and thereupon " had granted his commission under the great seal " of England to several bishops and other divines, " to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to " prepare such alterations and additions as they " thought fit to offer; and that afterwards his ma- " jesty had been pleased to authorize the convoca- " tions of both the provinces of Canterbury and " York, called and assembled by his majesty's au- " thority, to review the said Book of Prayer, and " the Book of the Form and Manner of the making " and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; " and that now after the bishops and clergy of both " provinces had, upon great deliberation and upon " reviewing those books, prepared and consented to " some alterations, and to the addition of several " prayers to be used upon emergent occasions, all " which his majesty had already ratified and con- " firmed; it could not but be understood matter of " great levity and offence, to reject this book, that " was now with all this ceremony and solemnity

1662. "presented, for no other reason but because they "liked better the old book, which had been for "twenty years discontinued and rejected." And therefore it was moved, "that there might not be "such an affront put upon the convocation, and "upon the king himself." And so with little more public contest the book itself was consented and submitted to.

And consented to by them.

But then the act of uniformity depended long, and took up much debate in both houses. In the house of peers, where the act first began, there were many things inserted, which had not been contained in the former act of uniformity, and so seemed to carry somewhat of novelty in them[d]. It admitted "no person to have any cure of souls or any eccle- "siastical dignity in the church of England, but "such who had been or should be ordained priest "or deacon by some bishop, that is, who had not "episcopal ordination; excepting only the ministers "or pastors of the French and Dutch churches in "London and other places, allowed by the king, "who should enjoy the privileges they had."

Debates there upon the act of uniformity.

This was new; for there had been many, and at present there were some, who possessed benefices with cure of souls, and other ecclesiastical promotions, who had never received orders but in France or in Holland; and these men must now receive new ordination, which had been always held unlawful in the church, or by this act of parliament must be deprived of their livelihood, which they enjoyed in the most flourishing and peaceable time of the church. And therefore it was said, "that this had

[d] in them] in it

" not been the opinion of the church of England; 1662.
" and that it would lay a great reproach upon all
" other protestant churches who had no bishops, as Upon the clause requiring episcopal ordination.
" if they had no ministers, and consequently were
" no churches: for that it was well known the church
" of England did not allow reordination, as the an-
" cient church never admitted it; insomuch as if
" any priest of the church of Rome renounces the
" communion thereof, his ordination is not ques-
" tioned, but he is as capable of any preferment in
" this church, as if he had been ordained in it. And
" therefore the not admitting the ministers of other
" protestants to have the same privilege, can proceed
" from no other ground, than that they looked not
" upon them as ministers, having no ordination;
" which is a judgment the church of England had
" not ever owned: and that it would be very im-
" prudent to do it now."

To this it was answered, " that the church of
" England judged none but her own children, nor
" did [f] determine that other protestant churches
" were without ordination. It is a thing without
" her [g] cognizance: and most of the learned men of
" those churches had made necessity the chief pillar
" to support that ordination of theirs. That neces-
" sity cannot be pleaded here, where ordination is
" given according to the unquestionable practice of
" the church of Christ: if they who pretend foreign
" ordination are his majesty's subjects, they have no
" excuse of necessity, for they might in all times
" have received episcopal ordination, and so they
" did upon the matter renounce their own church;

[f] did] did not [g] her] their

1662. "if they are strangers, and pretend to preferment in "this church, they ought to conform and to be sub- "ject to the laws of the kingdom, which concern "only those who desire to live under the protection "thereof[h]. For the argument of reordination, there "is no such thing required. Rebaptization is not "allowed in or by any church: yet in all churches "where it is doubted, as it may be often with very "good reason, whether the person hath been bap- "tized or no, or if it hath been baptized by a mid- "wife or lay person; without determining the vali- "dity or invalidity of such baptism, there is an hy- "pothetical form, 'If thou hast not been already "baptized, I do baptize,' &c. So in this case of or- "dination, the form may be the same, 'If thou hast "not been already ordained, then I do ordain,' &c. "If his former ordination were good, this is void; if "the other was invalid or defective, he hath reason "to be glad that it be thus supplied." After much debate, that clause remained still in the act: and very many, who had received presbyterian orders in the late times, came very willingly to be ordained in the manner aforesaid by a bishop; and very few chose to quit or lose a parsonage or vicarage of any value upon that scruple.

A clamour afterwards raised about the clause of assent and consent.

There was another clause in the bill, that made very much more noise afterwards, though for the present it took not up so much time, and in truth was little taken notice of: that is, a form of subscription that every man was to make, who had[i] received, or before he received, any benefice or preferment in the church; which comprehended all the

[h] thereof] *Omitted in MS.*

[i] had] *Not in MS.*

governors, superiors, and fellows, in all the colleges and halls of either university, and all schoolmasters and the like, who are subservient towards learning. Every such person was to declare "his "unfeigned assent and consent to all and every "thing contained and prescribed in and by the book "entitled The Book of Common Prayer," &c. The subscription was generally thought so reasonable, that it scarce met with any opposition in either house. But when it came abroad, and was to be submitted to, all the dissenting brethren cried out, "that it was a snare to catch them, to say that "which could not consist with their consciences[k]." They took great pains to distinguish and to make great difference between assent and consent: "they "could be content to read the book in the manner "they were obliged to do, which shewed their con-"sent; but declaring their unfeigned assent to every "thing contained and prescribed therein would im-"ply, that they were so fully convinced in their "judgments, as to think that it was so perfect, that "nothing therein could be amended, which for their "part they thought there might. That there were "many expressions in the rubric, which they were "not bound to read; yet by this assent they de-"clared their approbation thereof." But after many tedious discourses of this tyrannical imposition, they grew by degrees ashamed of it; and were persuaded to think, that assent and consent had so near the same signification, that they could hardly consent to do what they did not assent to: so[l] that the chiefest

1662.

[k] consciences] conscience

[l] so] *Not in MS.*

1662. amongst them, to avoid a very little inconvenience, subscribed the same.

The bill passed by the lords.

But there was shortly after another clause added, that gave them trouble indeed. When the bill had passed the lords' house, it was sent of course to the commons; where though all the factions in religion had too many friends, for the most contrary and opposite one to another always were united and reconciled against the church, yet they who were zealous for the government, and who hated all the other factions at least enough, were very much superior in number and in reputation. And the bill was no sooner read there, than every man according to his passion thought of adding somewhat to it, that might make it more grievous to somebody whom he did not love; which made the discourses tedious and vehement and full of animosity. And at last they agreed upon a clause, which contained another subscription and declaration, which every man [m] was to make before he could [n] be admitted into any benefice or [o] ecclesiastical promotion, or to be a governor or fellow in either of the universities. He must first declare, "that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, "to take arms against the king; and that he doth "abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by "his authority against his person, or against those "that are commissioned by him; and that he will "conform to the Liturgy of the church of England, "as it is now by law established." And he doth declare, "that he doth hold there [p] lies no obligation "upon him, or on any other person, from the oath

Amendments made by the house of commons.

[m] man] *Omitted in MS.*
[n] could] can
[o] or] of
[p] there] that there

" commonly called The solemn League and Covenant, 1662.
" to endeavour any change or alteration of govern-
" ment, either in church or state; and that the same
" was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon
" the subjects of this realm against the known laws
" and liberties of the kingdom;" with some other clauses, which need not be mentioned, because they were afterwards left out. And with this addition, and some other alterations, they returned the bill again to the lords for their approbation. The bill returned to the lords.

The framing and forming this clause had taken up very much time, and raised no less passion in the house of commons; and now it came among the lords, it was not less troublesome. It added to the displeasure and jealousy against the bishops, by whom it was thought to be prepared, and commended to their party in the lower house. Many lords, who had taken the covenant, were not so much concerned that the clergy (for whom only this act was prepared) should be obliged to make this declaration; but apprehended more, that when such a clause should be once passed in one act of parliament, it could not after be disputed, and so would be inserted into all other acts which related to the function of any other offices, and so would in a short time be required of themselves. And therefore they opposed it warmly, " as a thing unnecessary, and " which would widen the breach, instead of closing " up the wounds that had been made; which the " king had made it his business to do, and the par- " liament had hitherto concurred with his majesty " in that endeavour. That many men would believe " or fear, (which in such a case is the same,) that " this clause might prove a breach of the act of in- Debates upon the amendments made by the commons.

1662. "demnity, which had not only provided against in-
"dictments and suits at law and penalties, but
"against reproaches for what was past, which this
"clause would be understood to give new life to.
"For what concerned the conformity to the Liturgy
"of the church as it is now established, it is pro-
"vided for as fully in the former subscription in this
"act, and therefore is impertinent in this place.
"That the covenant contained many good things
"in it, as defending the king's person, and main-
"taining the protestant religion: and therefore to
"say that there lies no obligation from [q] it, would
"neither be for the service of the king or the in-
"terest of the church; especially since it was well
"known, that it had wrought upon the conscience
"of many to serve the king in the late revolution,
"from which his majesty had received great advan-
"tage. However it was now dead, all men were
"absolved from taking it, nor could it be imposed
"or offered to any man without punishment; and
"they, who had in the ill times been forced to take
"it, did now inviolably and cheerfully perform all
"the duties of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty.
"If it had at any time produced any good, that was
"an excuse for the irregularity of it: it could do
"no mischief for the future; and therefore that it
"was time to bury it in oblivion."

Many men believed, that though they insisted principally on that part which related to the covenant, they [r] were in truth more afflicted with the first part; in which it was declared, "that it was
"not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take

[q] from] upon [r] they] that they

"arms against the king; and that he doth abhor 1662.
"that traitorous position[s] of taking arms by his au-
"thority against his person:" which conclusions had been the principles which supported their rebellion, and by which they had imposed upon the people, and got their concurrence. They durst not oppose this, because the parliament had already by a former act declared the law to be so in those particulars: yet this went much nearer to them, that by their own particular declaration (for they looked upon it as that which in a short time must be their own) they should upon the matter confess themselves to have been traitors, which they had not yet been declared to have been; and no man could now justify the calling them so.

They who were most solicitous that the house should concur with the commons in this addition, had fieldroom enough to expatiate upon the gross iniquity of the covenant. They made themselves very merry with the allegation, "that the king's "safety and the interest of the church were provided "for by the covenant, when it had been therefore "entered into, to fight against the king and to de-"stroy the church. That there was no one lawful "or honest clause in the covenant, that was not "destroyed or made of no signification by the next "that succeeded; and if it were not, the same obli-"gation was better provided for by some other "oaths, which the same men had or ought to have "taken, and which ought to have restrained them "from taking the covenant: and therefore it may "justly be pronounced, that there is no obligation

[s] position] proposition

1662. "upon any man from thence. That there was no
"breach of the act of indemnity, nor any reproach
"upon any man for having taken it, except what
"would result from his own conscience. But that
"it was most absolutely necessary, for the safety of
"the king's person, and the peace of the kingdom,
"that they who had taken it should declare, that
"they do not believe themselves to be bound by it:
"otherwise they may still think, that they may
"fight against the king, and must conspire the de-
"struction of the church. And they cannot take
"too much care, or use too much diligence, to dis-
"cover who are of that opinion; that they may be
"strictly looked unto, and restrained from doing
"that which they take themselves obliged to do.
"That the covenant is not dead, as was alleged, but
"still retains great vigour; was still the idol to
"which the presbyterians sacrificed: and that there
"must and would always be a general jealousy of
"all those who had taken it, until they had de-
"clared that it did not bind them; especially of the
"clergy, who had so often enlarged in their pulpits,
"how absolutely and indispensably all men were[t]
"obliged to prosecute the end[u] of it, which is to de-
"stroy the church, whatever danger it brings the
"king's person to. And therefore they of all men
"ought to be glad of this opportunity that was of-
"fered, to vindicate their loyalty and obedience;
"and if they were not ready to do so, they were
"not fit to be trusted with the charge and care of
"the souls of the king's subjects."

And in truth there were not any more importu-

[t] were] are

[u] end] ends

nate for the enjoining this declaration, than many who had taken the covenant. Many who had never taken it, and had always detested it, and paid soundly for being known to do so, were yet very sorry that it was inserted at this time and in this place; for they foresaw it would make divisions, and keep up the several factions, which would have been much weakened, and in a short time brought to nothing, if the presbyterians had been separated from the rest, who did perfectly hate and were as perfectly hated by all the rest. But since it was brought upon the stage, and it had been the subject of so much debate, they believed the house of lords could not now refuse to concur with the commons, without undergoing some reproach and scandal of not[x] having an ill opinion enough of the covenant; of which as they were in no degree guilty, so they thought it to be of mischievous consequence to be suspected to be so. And therefore, after they had expunged some other parts of that subscription which had been annexed to it, and mended some other expressions in other places, which might rather irritate than compose those humours which already boiled too much, they returned the bill to the house of commons; which submitted to all that they had done: and so it was presented to the king, who could not well refuse his royal assent, nor did in his own judgment or inclination dislike what was offered to him.

1662.

The lords consent to most of the amendments.

The commons agree with the lords.

The king confirms the bill.

By this act of uniformity there was an end put to all the liberty and license, which had been practised in all churches from the time of his majesty's re-

[x] not] *Not in MS.*

1662. turn, and by his declaration that he had emitted afterwards. The Common Prayer must now be constantly read in all churches, and no other form admitted: and what clergyman soever did not fully conform to whatsoever was contained in that book, or enjoined by the act of uniformity, by or before St. Bartholomew-day, which was about three months after the act was published; he was *ipso facto* deprived of his benefice, or any other spiritual promotion of which he stood possessed, and the patron was to present another in his place, as if he were dead: so that it was not in the king's power to give any dispensation to any man, that could preserve him against the penalty in the act of uniformity.

This act was no sooner published, (for I am willing to continue this relation to the execution of it, because there were some intervening accidents that were not understood,) than all the presbyterian ministers expressed their disapprobation of it with all the passion imaginable. They complained, "that "the king had violated his promise made to them "in his declaration from Breda," which was urged with great uningenuity, and without any shadow of right; for his majesty had thereby referred the whole settlement of all things relating to religion, to the wisdom of parliament; and declared, "in the "mean time, that nobody should be punished or "questioned, for continuing the exercise of his re-"ligion in the way he had been accustomed to in the "late confusions." And his majesty had continued this indulgence by his declaration after his return, and thereby fully complied with his promise from Breda; which he should indeed have violated, if he had now refused to concur in the settlement the

The presbyterian ministers complain of the king's violation of his declaration.

parliament had agreed upon, being in truth no less obliged to concur with the parliament in the settlement that the parliament should propose to him, than he was not to cause any man to be punished for not obeying the former laws, till a new settlement should be made. But how evident soever this truth is, they would not acknowledge it; but armed their proselytes with confident assertions, and unnatural interpretations of the words in the king's declaration, as if the king were bound to grant liberty of conscience, whatever the parliament should or should not desire, that is, to leave all men to live according to their own humours and appetites, let what laws soever be made to the contrary. They declared, "that they could not with a good conscience either subscribe the one or the other declaration: they could not say that they did assent or consent in the first, nor declare in the second that there remained no obligation from the covenant; and therefore that they were all resolved to quit their livings, and to depend upon Providence for their subsistence." 1662.

The act in general well received.

There cannot be a better evidence of the general affection of the kingdom, than that this act of parliament had so concurrent an approbation of the two houses of parliament, after a suppression of that form of devotion for near twenty years, and the highest discountenance and oppression of all those who were known to be devoted or affected to it. And from the time of the king's return, when it was lawful to use it, though it was not enjoined, persons of all conditions flocked to those churches where it was used. And it was by very many sober men believed, that if the presbyterians and the other fac-

1662. tions in religion had been only permitted to exercise their own ways, without[y] any countenance from the court, the heart of all the factions against the church would have been broken, before the parliament did so fully declare itself.

Reflections on the behaviour of the presbyterian ministers.

And there cannot be a greater manifestation of the distemper and license of the time, than the presumption of those presbyterian ministers, in the opposing and contradicting an act of parliament; when there was scarce a man in that number, who had not been so great a promoter of the rebellion, or contributed so much to it, that they had no other title to their lives but by the king's mercy; and there[z] were very few amongst them, who had not come into the possession of the churches they now held, by the expulsion of the orthodox ministers who were lawfully possessed of them, and who being by their imprisonment, poverty, and other kinds of oppression and contempt during so many years, departed this life, the usurpers remained undisturbed in their livings, and thought it now the highest tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the law, and disobedience to the government. That those men should give themselves an act of oblivion of all their transgressions and wickedness, and take upon them again to pretend a liberty of conscience against the government, which they had once overthrown upon their pretences; was such an impudence, as could not have fallen into the hearts even of those men from the stock of their own malice, without some great defect in the government, and encouragement or countenance

[y] without] with

[z] there] that there

from the highest powers. The king's too gracious disposition and easiness of access, as hath been said before, had from the beginning raised their hopes and dispelled their fears; whilst his majesty promised himself a great harvest in their conversion, by his gentleness and affability. And they insinuated themselves by a profession, "that it was more the "regard of his service, than any obstinacy in themselves, which kept them from conformity to what "the law had enjoined; that they might still preserve their credit with their parishioners, and by "degrees bring them to a perfect obedience:" whereas indeed all the corruption was in the clergy; and where a prudent and orthodox man was in the pulpit, the people very willingly heard the Common Prayer. 1662.

They have too free access to the king.

Nor did this confidence leave them, after the passing and publishing this act of uniformity: but the London ministers, who had the government of those in the country, prevailed with the general (who without any violent inclinations of his own was always ready for his wife's sake) to bring them to the king, who always received them with too much clemency, and dismissed them with too much hope. They lamented "the sadness of their condition, "which (after having done so much service to his "majesty, and been so graciously promised by him "his protection) must now be exposed to all misery "and famine." They told him "what a vast num-"ber of churches" (five times more than was true) "would become void by this act, which would not "prove for his service; and that they much feared, "the people would not continue as quiet and peace-"able as they had been under their oversight." They

1662. used all the arguments they thought might work upon him; and he seemed to be the more moved, because he knew that it was not in his power to help them. He told them, "he had great compas-"sion for them; and was heartily sorry that the "parliament had been so severe towards them, "which he would remit, if it were in his power; "and therefore that they should advise with their "friends, and that if they found that it would be in "his power to give them any ease, they should find "him inclined to gratify them in whatsoever they "desired:" which gracious expressions raised their spirits as high as ever; and they reported to their friends much more than in truth the king had said to them, (which was no new artifice with them,) and advised their friends in all parts "to be firm to "their principles," and assured them, "that the ri-"gour of the act of parliament should not be pressed "against them."

It cannot be denied, that the king was too irresolute, and apt to be shaken in those counsels which with the greatest deliberation[a] he had concluded, by too easily permitting, or at least not restraining, any men who waited upon him, or were present with him in his recesses, to examine and censure what was resolved; an infirmity that brought him many troubles, and exposed his ministers to ruin: though in his nature, judgment, and inclinations, he did detest the presbyterians; and by the experience he had of their faculties, pride, and insolence in Scotland, had brought from thence such an abhorrence of them, that for their sakes he thought

[a] deliberation] declaration

better of any of the other factions. Nor had he any kindness for any person whom he suspected to adhere to them: for the lord Lautherdale took all pains to be thought no presbyterian; and pleased himself better with no humour, than laughing at that people, and telling ridiculous stories of their folly and foul corruptions. Yet the king, from the opinion he had of their great power to do him good or harm, which was oftentimes unskilfully insinuated to him by men who he knew were not of their party, but were really deceived themselves by a wrong computation and estimate of their interest, was not willing to be thought an enemy to them. And there were too many bold speakers about the court, too often admitted into his presence, who being without any sense of religion, thought all rather ought to be permitted, than to undergo any trouble and disturbance on the behalf of any one. 1662.

The continued address and importunity of these ministers, as St. Bartholomew's day approached nearer, more disquieted the king. They enlarged with many words "on the great joy that they and "all their friends had received, from the compas- "sion his majesty so graciously had expressed on "their behalf, which they would never forget, or "forfeit by any undutiful carriage." They confessed "that they found, upon conference with their friends "who wished them well, and upon perusal of the "act of parliament, that it was not in his majesty's "power to give them so much protection against "the penalty of the act of parliament, as they had "hoped, and as his great goodness was inclined to "give them. But that it would be an unspeakable "comfort to them, if his majesty's grace towards

1662. "them were so manifested, that the people might "discern that this extreme rigour was not grateful "to him, but that he could be well content if it "were for some time suspended; and therefore they "were humble suitors to him, that he would by his "letters to the bishops, or by a proclamation, or an "act of council, or any other way his majesty should "think fit, publish his desire that the execution of "the act of uniformity, as to all but the reading of "the Liturgy, which they would conform to, might "be suspended for three months; and that he would "take it well from the bishops or any of the pa-"trons, who would so far comply with his desire, as "not to take any advantage of those clauses in the "statute, which gave them authority to present as "in a vacancy. They doubted not there would be "many, who would willingly submit to his majesty's "pleasure: but whatever the effect should be, they "would pay the same humble acknowledgments to "his majesty, as if it had produced all that they "desired."

Whether his majesty thought it would do them no good, and therefore that it was no matter if he granted it; or that he thought it no prejudice to the church, if the act were suspended for three months; or that he was willing to redeem himself from the present importunity, (an infirmity he was too often guilty of;) true it is, he did make them a positive promise, "that he would do what they de-"sired;" with which they were abundantly satisfied, and renewed their encouragement to their friends "to persevere to the end." And this promise was solemnly given to them in the presence of the general, who was to solicit the king's despatch,

The king promises to suspend the execution of the act.

that his pleasure might be known in due time. It was now the long vacation, and few of the council were then in town, or of the bishops, with whom his majesty too late thought it necessary to confer, that such an instrument might be prepared as was fit for the affair. Hereupon the king told the chancellor (who was not thought friend enough to the presbyterians to be sooner communicated with) all that had passed, what the ministers had desired, and what he had promised; and bade him "to "think of the best way of doing it." 1662.

The chancellor was one of those, who would have been glad that the act had not been clogged with many of those clauses, which he foresaw might produce some inconveniences; but when it was passed, he thought it absolutely necessary to see obedience paid to it without any connivance: and therefore, as he had always dissuaded the king from giving so much countenance to those applications, which he always knew published more to be said than in truth was ever spoken, and was the more troubled for this progress they had made with the king; he told his majesty, "that it was not in his power to preserve "those men, who did not submit to do all that was "to be done by the act, from deprivation." He gave many reasons which occurred, why "such a "declaration as was desired would prove ineffectual "to the end for which it was desired, and what "inconveniences would result from attempting it." His majesty alleged many reasons for the doing it, which he had received from those who desired it, and seemed sorry that they were no better; however concluded, "that he had engaged his word, and "that he would perform what he had promised;"

1662. and required him not to oppose it. The chancellor had always been very tender of his honour; and advised him "to be very wary in making any promise, "but when he had made it, to perform it, though "to his disadvantage:" and it was no new thing to him, to be reproached for opposing the resolving to do such or such a thing, and then to be reproached again for pursuing the resolution.

The king was at Hampton-court, and sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London and of Winchester, to attend him, with the chief justice Bridgman, and the attorney general: there were likewise the chancellor, the general, the duke of Ormond, and the secretaries. His majesty acquainted them with "the importunities used by the "London ministers, and the reasons they had of-"fered why a further time should be given to them "to consider of what was so new to them; and "what answer he had given to them; and how they "had renewed their importunity with a desire of "such a declaration from him as is mentioned be-"fore, in which he thought there was no inconve-"nience, and therefore had promised to do it, and "called them now together to advise of the best "way of doing it." The bishops were very much troubled, that those fellows should still presume to give his majesty so much vexation, and that they should have such access to him. They gave such arguments against the doing what was desired, as could not be answered; and for themselves, they desired "to be excused for not conniving in any "degree at the breach of the act of parliament, "either by not presenting a clerk where themselves "were patrons, or deferring to give institution upon

He endeavours to fulfil his promise.

"the presentation of others[b]: and that his majesty's 1662.
"giving such a declaration or recommendation would
"be the greatest wound to the church, and to the
"government thereof, that it could receive."

The chancellor, who did really believe that the king and his service would suffer more by the breach of his word and promise, than either could do from doing the thing desired, confessed "that he believed "it would do them little good, which would not be "imputed to his majesty, when he had done all he "could do; and that it would be a greater conform-"ity, if the ministers generally performed what they "offered to do, in reading all the service of the "church, than had been these many years; and that "once having done what was known to be so con-"trary to their inclinations, would be an engage-"ment upon them in a short time to comply with "the rest of their obligations: and therefore," he said, "he should not dissuade his majesty from do-"ing what he had promised;" which indeed he had good reason to think he was resolved to do, whatever he was advised to the contrary. The king demanded the judgment of the lawyers, "whether he "could legally dispense with the observation of the "act for three months;" who answered, "that not-But finds it not in his power.
"withstanding any thing he could do in their fa-"vour, the patrons might present their clerk as if "the incumbents were dead, upon their not-perform-"ance of what they were enjoined." Upon the whole matter the king was converted; and with great bitterness against that people in general, and against the particular persons whom he had always

[b] of others] *Not in MS.*

1662. received too graciously, concluded that he would not do what was desired, and that the connivance should not be given to any of them.

The bishops departed full of satisfaction with the king's resolution, and as unsatisfied with their friend the chancellor's inclination to gratify that people, not knowing the engagement that was upon him. And this jealousy produced a greater coldness from some of them towards him, and a greater resentment from him, who thought he had deserved better from their function and their persons, than was in a long time, if ever, perfectly reconciled. Yet he never declined in the least degree his zeal for the government of the church, or the interest of those persons; nor thought they could be blamed for their severity against those ministers, who were surely the proudest malefactors, and the most incapable of being gently treated, of any men living. For if any of the bishops used them kindly, and endeavoured to persuade them to conformity, they reported "that "they had been caressed and flattered by the bishops, "and offered great preferments, which they had "bravely refused to accept for the preservation of a "good conscience:" and in reports of this kind, few of them ever observed any rules of ingenuity or sincerity.

The great disingenuity of the presbyterian ministers.

When they saw that they were to expect and undergo the worst, they agreed upon a method to be observed by them in the leaving and parting with their pulpits: and the last Sunday they were to preach, they endeavoured to infuse murmur, jealousy, and sedition, into the hearts of their several auditories; and to prepare them "to expect and bear with "patience and courage all the persecutions which

They endeavour to raise discontents in the people.

" were like to follow, now the light of the gospel 1662.
" was so near being extinguished." And all those sermons they called their farewell sermons, and caused to be printed together, with every one of the preachers' pictures before their sermons; which in truth contained all the vanity and ostentation with reference to themselves, and all the insinuations to mutiny and rebellion, that could be warily couched in words which could not be brought within penalty of law, though their meaning was well understood.

When the time was expired, better men were put into their churches, though with much murmuring of some of their parishes for a time, increased by their loud clamour, " that they had been betrayed " by the king's promise that they should have three " months longer time:" which drew the like clamour upon them by those, who had hearkened to their advice in continuing their obstinacy in confidence of a dispensation; whereas otherwise they would have conformed, as very many of their party did. And many of the other who were cozened by them, and so lost the livings they had, made all the haste they could to make themselves capable of getting others, by as full subscriptions and conformity as the act of uniformity required. And the greatest of them, after some time, and after they found that the private bounty and donatives, which at first flowed in upon them in compassion of their sufferings and to keep up their courages, every day begun to slacken, and would in the end expire, subscribed to those very declarations, which they had urged as the greatest motives to their nonconformity. And the number was very small, and of very weak and inconsiderable men, that continued refractory, and

At length most of them conform.

1662. received no charge in the church: though it may without breach of charity be believed, that many who did subscribe had the same malignity to the church, and to the government of it; and it may be did more harm, than if they had continued in their inconformity.

Great animosities in parliament about private bills.

The long time spent in both houses upon the act of uniformity had made the progress of all other public business much the slower; or rather, the multitude of private bills which depended there, (and with which former parliaments had been very rarely troubled,) and the bitterness and animosities which arose from thence, exceedingly disquieted and discomposed the house; every man being so much concerned for the interest of his friends or allies, that he was more solicitous for the despatch of those, than of any which related to the king and the public, which he knew would by a general concurrence be all passed before the session should be made; whereas if the other should be deferred, the session would quickly follow, (which the king by frequent messages desired to hasten, having received news already of the queen's having been at sea many days,) and the benefit of those pretences would be lost, and with greater difficulty be recovered in a succeeding session. Then as those private bills were for the particular benefit and advantage of some persons, which engaged all their friends to be very solicitous for their despatch; so for the most part they were to the loss and damage of other persons, who likewise called in aid of all their friends to prevent the houses' consent: and by this means so many factions were kindled in both houses, between those who drove on the interest of their own or of their

relations, who mutually looked upon one another as enemies, and against those who for justice and the dignity of parliament would have rejected all or most of the addresses of that kind; that in most debates which related to neither, the custom of contradiction, and the aversion to persons, very much disturbed and prolonged all despatch. 1662.

It cannot be denied, that after a civil war of so many years, prosecuted with that height of malice and revenge; so many houses plundered and so many burned, in which the evidences of many estates were totally destroyed, and as many by the unskilful providence of others, who in order to preserve them had buried their writings so unwarily under ground, that they were taken up so defaced or rotted, that they could not be pleaded in any court of justice; many who had followed the king in the war, and so made themselves liable to those penalties which the parliament had prepared for them and subjected them to, had made many feigned conveyances, with such limitations and so absolutely, (that no trust might be discovered by those who had power to avoid it,) that they were indeed too absolute to be avoided by themselves, and their estates become so much out of their own disposal, that they could neither apply them to the payment of their just debts, or to the provision for their children; I say, there were many such cases, which could be no other way provided for but by an act of parliament, and to which an act of parliament, without too much severity and rigour, could not be denied. And against any of those there appeared none or very little opposition to be made.

But the example and precedent of such drew

1662. with them a world of unreasonable pretences; and they, who were not in a condition to receive relief in any court of justice, thought they had a ground to appeal to parliament. They who had been compelled, for raising the money they were forced to pay for their delinquency, to sell land, and could not sell it but at a very low value, (for it was one species of the oppression of that time, that when a powerful man had an aspect upon the land of any man who was to compound, and so in view like to sell it, no other man would offer any money for it, so that he was sure at last to have it upon his own price;) now all that monstrous power was vanished, they who had made those unthrifty bargains and sales, though with all the formalities of law, by fines and recoveries and the like, (which is all the security that can be given upon a purchase,) especially if the purchaser was of an ill name, came with all imaginable confidence to the parliament, to have their land restored to them [c]. Every man had raised an equity in his own imagination, that he thought ought to prevail against any descent, testament, or act of law; and that whatever any man had been brought to do, which common reason would make manifest that he would never have done if he could have chosen, was argument sufficient of such a force, and ought to find relief in parliament, from the unbounded equity they were masters of and could dispense, whatever formalities of law had preceded or accompanied the transaction. And whoever opposed those extravagant notions, which sometimes deprived men of the benefit of the

[c] them] him

act of oblivion, was thought to be without justice, or which to them was worse, to be without any kindness to the king's party. And without question, upon those motives, or others as unreasonable, many acts were passed of very ill example, and which many men were scandalized at in the present, and posterity will more censure hereafter, when infants who were then unborn shall find themselves disinherited of those estates, which their ancestors had carefully provided should descend to them; upon which irregularities the king made reflection when he made the session. 1662.

The parliament proceeds with great duty towards the king.

But notwithstanding all these incongruities, and the indispositions which attended them, they performed all those respects towards the king, which he did or could expect from them; there being scarce a man, who opposed the granting any thing that was proposed for the benefit of his majesty, or the greatness of the crown: and though some of the particulars mentioned before did sometimes intervene, to hinder and defer the present resolutions and conclusions in those counsels, the resolutions and conclusions in a short time after succeeded according to the king's wish. The militia and many other regalities were declared and settled according to the original sense of the law, and the authority of the crown vindicated to the height it had been at upon the heads of the greatest kings who had ever reigned in the nation. Monies were raised by several bills, sufficient as they conceived to have paid all the debts the king or the kingdom owed; for in their computations they comprehended the debts that were owing before his majesty's return, and for which the public faith had been engaged; and if as

1662. much had been paid as they conceived they had given, probably it might have been enough to have discharged all those. They settled a constant revenue upon the crown, which according to the estimate they made would amount to the yearly revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds, a proportion double to what it was in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and it may be of any king preceding; and declared, "that if it did not amount to that full "value, they would supply it at another meeting." And though it hath not in truth amounted to that sum in his majesty's receipts, the parliament hath imputed it rather to ill managery, and letting farms at too easy rates, than to an error in their computation. For the present, it was looked upon by the king and by his ministers as answerable to his expectation. And so, upon notice of the queen's being upon the coast, and afterwards of her arrival at Portsmouth, the king appointed the houses to present all their bills to him upon the nineteenth of May for his royal assent, it being few days above a year from the time of their being first convened.

When the king came to the parliament, and they had presented the great number of bills which they had prepared, and after he had given his royal assent to most of them, his majesty told them, "that "he thought there had been very few sessions of "parliament, in which there had been so many bills, "as he had passed that day: he was confident, "never so many private bills, which he hoped they "would not draw into example. It was true," he said, "the late ill times had driven men into great "straits, and might have obliged them to make "conveyances colourably, to avoid inconveniences,

The king's speech to the parliament.

" and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and men 1662.
" had gotten estates by new and greater frauds than
" had been heretofore practised; and therefore in
" this conjuncture extraordinary remedies might be
" necessary; which had induced him to comply
" with their advice in passing those bills: but he
" prayed them that this should be rarely done here-
" after: that the good old rules of the law are the
" best security; and he wished that men might not
" have too much cause to fear, that the settlements
" which they make of their estates shall be too ea-
" sily unsettled when they are dead by the power
" of parliament."

He said, "they had too much obliged him, not
" only in the matter of those bills which concerned
" his revenue, but in the manner of passing them,
" with so great affection and kindness, that he knew
" not how to thank them enough. He did assure
" them, and prayed them to assure their friends in
" the country, that he would apply all that they had
" given to him, to the utmost improvement of the
" peace and happiness of the kingdom; and that he
" would, with the best advice and good husbandry
" he could, bring his own expenses within a nar-
" rower compass." And he said, "now he was
" speaking to them of his own good husbandry, he
" must tell them, that would not be enough;" he
" could not but observe, that the whole nation
" seemed to him a little corrupted in their excess
" of living. All men spend much more in their
" clothes, in their diet, in all their expenses, than
" they had used to do. He hoped it had only been
" the excess of joy after so long sufferings, that had
" transported him and them to those other ex-

1662. "cesses; but," he desired them, "that they might "all take heed that the continuance of them did not "indeed corrupt their natures. He did believe that "he had been that way very faulty himself: he "promised that he would reform, and that if they "would join with him in their several capacities, "they would by their examples do more good, both "in city and country, than any new laws would "do." He said many other good things that pleased them, and no doubt he intended all he said; but the ways and expedients towards good husbandry were no where pursued.

The chancellor's speech.

The chancellor, by the king's command, enlarged upon "the general murmurs upon the expense, and "that it should so much exceed all former times." He put them in mind, "how the crown had been "used since those times, how the king had found it "at his blessed return: that as soon as he came hi-"ther, besides the infinite sums that he forgave, he "gave more money to the people than he had since "received from them," (he meant, I suppose, the release of all the rents, debts, and receipts which were due to him;) "that at least two parts of three "that they had since given him had issued for the "disbanding of armies never raised by him, and for "payment of fleets never sent out by him, and of "debts never incurred by him." He put them in mind "of the vast disparity between the former "times and these in which they now lived, and "consequently of[d] the disproportion in the expense "the crown was now at, for the protection and be-"nefit of the subject, to what it formerly under-

[d] of] in

" went. How great a difference there was in the 1662.
" present greatness and power of the two crowns,
" and what they had been then possessed of, was
" evident to all men; and if the greatness and power
" of the crown of England should not be in some
" proportion improved too, it might be liable to in-
" conveniences it would not undergo alone. How
" our neighbours and our rivals, who court one and
" the same mistress, trade and commerce, with all
" the world, are advanced in shipping, power, and
" an immoderate desire to engross the whole traffick
" of the universe, was notorious enough; and that
" this unruly appetite would not be restrained or
" disappointed, nor the trade of the nation be sup-
" ported and maintained, with the same fleets and
" forces which had been maintained in the happy
" times of queen Elizabeth. He needed not speak
" of the naval power of the Turks, who, instead of
" sculking abroad in poor single ships as they were
" wont to do, domineer now on the ocean in strong
" fleets, make naval fights, and had brought some
" Christians to a better correspondence, and another
" kind of commerce and traffick with them, than was
" expected," (for at that time the Dutch had made a low and dishonourable peace with the pirates of Algiers and Tunis:) " insomuch as they apprehend no
" enemy upon the sea, but what they find in the
" king of England's ships, which had indeed brought
" no small damage upon them, with no small charge
" to the king, but a great reputation to the nation.

" He did assure them, that the charge the crown
" was then at, by sea and land, for the peace and
" security and wealth and honour of the nation,
" amounted to no less than eight hundred thousand

1662. "pounds in the year; all which did not cost the "crown before the late troubles fourscore thousand "pounds the year: and therefore that nobody could "blame them for any supply they had given, or "addition they had made to the revenue of the "crown." He told them, "that the new acquisi- "tions of Dunkirk, Mardike, Tangier, Jamaica, and "Bombayne, ought to be looked upon as jewels of "an immense magnitude in the royal diadem; and "though they were of present expense, they were "like in a short time, with God's blessing, to bring "vast advantages to the trade, navigation, wealth "and honour of the king and kingdom. His ma- "jesty had enough expressed his desire to live in a "perfect peace and amity with all his neighbours; "nor was it an ill ingredient towards the firmness "and stability of that peace and amity which his "royal ancestors had held with them, that he hath "some advantages in case of a war, which they were "without." The same day the parliament was pro-

The parliament prorogued.

rogued to the eighteenth day of February following.

It was about the end of May, when the queen came to Hampton-court. The earl of Sandwich, after he had reduced those of Algiers and Tunis to good conditions, went to Tangier, which was to be delivered to him before he was to go to Lisbon for the reception of the queen: and delivered to him it was, though by an accident that might have caused it to be delivered into another hand. There was never the least doubt, but that the queen regent did resolve religiously to perform all the conditions on the part of Portugal; and the government was yet in her hands. But the king growing towards his majority, and of a nature not like to comply long

The earl of Sandwich takes possession of Tangier.

with his mother's advice; factions began likewise to grow in that court. The delivery of Tangier, and into the hands of heretics, was much murmured at; as like more to irritate the pope, who did already carry himself towards them very unlike a common father, notwithstanding the powerful interposition of France, which, upon the peace lately made between the two crowns, was already ceased: so that they now apprehended, that this new provocation would give some excuse to the court of Rome, to comply more severely with the importunities from Spain, which likewise upon this occasion they were sure would be renewed with all possible instance. And though the queen had lately sent a governor to Tangier, whom she therefore made choice of, as a man devoted to her, and who would obey her commands in the delivery of this place; yet it is certain, he went thither with a contrary resolution. 1662.

A design of not giving it up to him.

Very few days before the earl of Sandwich came thither, the governor marched out with all the horse and above half the foot of the garrison into the country, and fell into an ambush of the Moors, who being much more numerous cut off the whole party: and so the governor with so many of the chief officers and soldiers being killed, the town was left so weak, that if the Moors had pursued their advantage with such numbers as they might, and did intend within few days to bring with them, they would have been able to have made little resistance. And the earl of Sandwich coming happily thither in that conjuncture, it [e] was delivered into his hands, who convoyed the remainder of the garrison into

[e] it] *Omitted in MS.*

1662. Portugal, where they were like to be stoned by the people; and then, having put a good garrison of horse and foot which were sent from England into it, he delivered it up to the earl of Peterborough, who had a commission from the king to be governor thereof; and himself with the fleet sailed to Lisbon, where he had been long expected, and found his house and equipage ready, he being then to appear in the quality of extraordinary ambassador to demand the queen.

He comes to Lisbon in a critical conjuncture.

His arrival there happened likewise in a very happy conjuncture; for the Spanish army, stronger than it had been before, was upon its march to besiege a seaport town, which lay so near Lisbon, that being in the enemy's hands it[f] would very much have infested their whole trade, and was not strong enough long to have resisted so powerful an enemy. But upon the fame of the English fleet's arrival, the Spaniard gave over that design, and retired: since as it was impossible that they should be able to take that place, which the fleet was so ready to relieve; so they knew not but that the English might make a descent into their own quarters, which kept them from engaging before any other town. But the alarum the march of that army had given had so much disturbed Portugal, which never keep their whole forces on foot, but draw them together upon such emergent occasions; that they were compelled to make use of most of that money, which they said had been laid up and should be kept for the payment of the queen's portion, which was to be transported with her into England.

[f] it] *Not in MS.*

Whereupon, after the ambassador had been received with all possible demonstration of respect and public joy, and had had his solemn audience from the king and from the queen regent and the queen his mistress; and some English gentlemen of quality, who were sent by the king, were admitted to those places of attendance about the queen, to which his majesty had assigned them: the queen mother, with infinite apologies, told the ambassador, "that the straits and poverty of the kingdom were[g] so great upon the late advance of the Spanish army, that there could at this present be only paid one half of the queen's portion, and that the other half should infallibly be paid within a year, with which she hoped the king her brother would be satisfied; and that for the better doing it, she resolved to send back the same ambassador, who had brought so good a work with God's blessing to so good an end, with her daughter to the king." 1662.

The Portuguese not able to pay the queen's portion.

The earl of Sandwich was much perplexed, nor did easily resolve what he was to do. His instructions were to receive the whole portion, which he knew the king expected, and which they were not able to pay. He had already received Tangier, and left a strong garrison in it; and had neither authority to restore it, nor wherewithal to carry back the men. And at last, after he had used all the means to have the whole paid, and was so fully informed, that he did in truth believe that they could do no more, he resolved that he would receive the queen aboard the fleet. That which they were ready to deliver for half the portion was not in money, but

[g] were] was

1662. to be made up by jewels, sugar, and other commodities, which should not be overvalued. The ambassador was contented to give his receipt for the several species of the money they would deliver, leaving the value to be computed in England; but expressly refused to accept the jewels, sugar, and merchandises at any rates or prices; but was contented to receive them on board the ships, and to deliver them in specie at London to any person who should be appointed by them to receive them, who should be obliged to pay the money they were valued at[h], and to make up the whole sum that should be paid to the king for the moiety. In conclusion, all things were delivered on board the ships; and Diego Silvas, a Jew of great wealth and full credit at Amsterdam, was sent with it, and obliged to make even the account with the king's ministers at London, and to pay what should remain due. And a new obligation was entered into by the crown of Portugal, for the payment of the other moiety within the space of a year. And the queen with all her court and retinue were embarked on board the fleet; and without any ill accidents her majesty arrived safely at Portsmouth: and having rested only three or four days there, to recover the indisposition contracted in so long a voyage at sea, her majesty, together with the king, came to Hampton-court at the time mentioned before, the twenty-ninth of May, the king's birthday, full two years after his majesty's return and entering London.

The queen arrives in England.

Endeavours used to alienate the

However the public joy of the kingdom was very manifest upon this conjunction, yet in a short time

[h] at] *Not in MS.*

there appeared not that serenity in the court that was expected. They who had formerly endeavoured to prevent it, used ever after all the ill arts they could to make it disagreeable, and to alienate the king's affection from the queen to such a degree, that it might never be in her power to prevail with him to their disadvantage; an effect they had reason to expect from any notable interest she might gain in his affections, since she could not be uninformed by the ambassador of the disservice they had formerly endeavoured to do her. 1662. king's affections from the queen.

There was a lady of youth and beauty, with whom the king had lived in great and notorious familiarity from the time of his coming into England, and who, at the time of the queen's coming, or a little before, had been delivered of a son whom the king owned. And as that amour had been generally taken notice of, to the lessening of the good reputation the king had with the people; so it underwent the less reproach from the king's being young, vigorous, and in his full strength; and upon a full presumption that when he should be married, he would contain himself within the strict bounds of virtue and conscience. And that his majesty himself had that firm resolution, there want not many arguments, as well from the excellent temper and justice of his own nature, as from the professions he had made with some solemnity to persons who were believed to have much credit, and who had not failed to do their duty, in putting him in mind "of the "infinite obligations he had to God Almighty, and "that he expected another kind of return from him, "in the purity of mind and integrity of life:" of which his majesty was piously sensible, albeit there Some circumstances that contribute towards a misunderstanding between them.

1662. was all possible pains taken by that company which were admitted to his hours of pleasure, to divert and corrupt all those impressions and principles, which his own conscience and reverent esteem of Providence did suggest to him; turning all discourse and mention of religion into ridicule, as if it were only an invention of divines to impose upon men of parts, and to restrain them from the liberty and use of those faculties which God and nature had given them, that they might be subject to their reproofs and determinations; which kind of license was not grateful to the king, and therefore warily and accidentally used by those who had pleasant wit, and in whose company he took too much delight.

The queen had beauty and wit enough to make herself very agreeable to him; and it is very certain, that at their first meeting, and for some time after, the king had very good satisfaction in her, and without doubt made very good resolutions within himself, and promised himself a happy and an innocent life in her company, without any such uxoriousness, as might draw the reputation upon him of being governed by his wife, of which he had observed or been too largely informed of some inconvenient effects in the fortune of some of his nearest friends, and had long protested against such a resignation; though they who knew him well, did not think him so much superior to such a condescension, but that if the queen had had that craft and address and dexterity that some former queens had, she might have prevailed as far by degrees as they had done. But the truth is, though she was of years enough to have had more experience of the world, and of as much wit as could be wished, and

of a humour very agreeable at some seasons; yet she had been bred, according to the mode and discipline of her country, in a monastery, where she had only seen the women who attended her, and conversed with the religious who resided there, and without doubt in her inclinations was enough disposed to have been one of that number. And from this restraint she was called out to be a great queen, and to a free conversation in a court that was to be upon the matter new formed, and reduced from the manners of a licentious age to the old rules and limits which had been observed in better times; and to which regular and decent conformity the present disposition of men or women was not enough inclined to submit, nor the king enough disposed to exact. 1662.

There was a numerous family of men and women that were sent from Portugal, the most improper to promote that conformity in the queen that was necessary for her condition and future happiness, that could be chosen: the women for the most part old and ugly and proud, incapable of any conversation with persons of quality and a liberal education. And they desired and indeed had conspired so far to possess the queen themselves, that she should neither learn the English language, nor use their habit, nor depart from the manners and fashions of her own country in any particulars; "which resolution," they told her, "would be for the dignity of Portu-"gal, and would quickly induce the English ladies "to conform to her majesty's practice:" and this imagination had made that impression, that the tailor who had been sent into Portugal to make her clothes, could never be admitted to see her or re-

1662. ceive any employment. Nor when she came to Portsmouth, and found there several ladies of honour and prime quality to attend her in the places to which they were assigned by the king, did she receive any of them, till the king himself came; nor then with any grace, or the liberty that belonged to their places and offices. She could not be persuaded to be dressed out of the wardrobe that the king had sent to her, but would wear the clothes which she had brought, until she found that the king was displeased, and would be obeyed: whereupon she conformed against the advice of her women, who continued their opiniatrety, without any one of them receding from their own mode, which exposed them the more to reproach.

When the queen came to Hampton-court, she brought with her a formed resolution, that she would never suffer the lady who was so much spoken of to be in her presence: and afterwards to those she would trust she said, "her mother had enjoined her "so to do." On the other hand, the king thought that he had so well prepared her to give her a civil reception, that within a day or two after her majesty's being there, himself led her into her chamber, and presented her to the queen, who received her with the same grace as she had done the rest; there being many lords and other ladies at the same time there. But whether her majesty in the instant knew who she was, or upon recollection found it afterwards, she was no sooner sat in her chair, but her colour changed, and tears gushed out of her eyes, and her nose bled, and she fainted; so that she was forthwith removed into another room, and all the company retired out of that where she was

before. And this falling out so notoriously when so many persons were present, the king looked upon it with wonderful indignation, and as an earnest of defiance for the decision of the supremacy and who should govern, upon which point he was the most jealous and the most resolute of any man; and the answer he received from the queen, which kept up the obstinacy, displeased him more. Now the breach of the conditions grew matter of reproach; the payment of but half the portion was objected to the ambassador, who would have been very glad that the quarrel had been upon no other point. He knew not what to say or do; the king being offended with him for having said so much in Portugal to provoke the queen, and not instructing her enough to make her unconcerned in what had been before her time, and in which she could not reasonably be concerned; and the queen with more indignation reproaching him with the character he had given of the king, of his virtue and good-nature: whilst the poor man, not able to endure the tempest of so much injustice from both, thought it best to satisfy both by dying; and from the extreme affliction of mind which he underwent, he sustained such a fever as brought him to the brink of his grave, till some grace from both their majesties contributed much to the recovery of his spirits. 1662.

In the mean time the king forbore her majesty's company, and sought ease and refreshment in that jolly company, to which in the evenings he grew every day more indulgent, and in which there were some, who desired rather to inflame than pacify his discontent. And they found an expedient to vindicate his royal jurisdiction, and to make it manifest

1662. to the world, that he would not be governed; which could never without much artifice have got entrance into his princely breast, which always entertained the most tender affections; nor was ever any man's nature more remote from thoughts of roughness or hardheartedness. They magnified the temper and constitution of his grandfather, who indeed to all other purposes was a glorious example: "that "when he was enamoured, and found a return an- "swerable to his merit, he did not dissemble his "passion, nor suffered it to be matter of reproach "to the persons whom he loved; but made all "others pay them that respect which he thought "them worthy of: brought them to the court, and "obliged his own wife the queen to treat them with "grace and favour; gave them the highest titles of "honour, to draw reverence and application to them "from all the court and all the kingdom; raised "the children he had by them to the reputation, "state, and degree of princes of the blood, and con- "ferred fortunes and offices upon them accordingly. "That his majesty, who inherited the same pas- "sions, was without the gratitude and noble incli- "nation to make returns proportionable to the obli- "gations he received. That he had, by the charms "of his person and of his professions, prevailed "upon the affections and heart of a young and "beautiful lady of a noble extraction, whose father "had lost his life in the service of the crown. That "she had provoked the jealousy and rage of her "husband to that degree, that he had separated "himself from her: and now the queen's indigna- "tion had made the matter so notorious to the "world, that the disconsolate lady had no place of

" retreat left, but must be made an object of infamy 1662.
" and contempt to all her sex, and to the whole
" world."

Those discourses, together with a little book newly printed at Paris, according to the license of that nation, of the amours of Henry IV. which was by them presented to him, and too concernedly read by him, made that impression upon his mind, that he resolved to raise the quality and degree of that lady, who was married to a private gentleman of a competent fortune, that had not the ambition to be a better man than he was born. And that he might do so, he made her husband an earl of Ireland, who knew too well the consideration that he paid for it, and abhorred the brand of such a nobility, and did not in a long time assume the title. The lady thus qualified was now made fit for higher preferment: and the king resolved, for the vindication of her honour and innocence, that she should be admitted of the bedchamber of the queen, as the only means to convince the world, that all aspersions upon her had been without ground. The king used all the ways he could, by treating the queen with all caresses, to dispose her to gratify him in this particular, as a matter in which his honour was concerned and engaged; and protested unto her, which at that time he did intend to observe, " that he had not had " the least familiarity with her since her majesty's " arrival, nor would ever after be guilty of it again, " but would live always with her majesty in all fide- " lity for conscience sake." The queen, who was naturally more transported with choler than her countenance declared her to be, had not the temper to entertain him with those discourses, which the

1662. vivacity of her wit could very plentifully have suggested to her; but brake out into a torrent of rage, which increased the former prejudice, confirmed the king in the resolution he had taken, gave ill people more credit to mention her disrespectfully, and more increased his aversion from her company, and, which was worse, his delight in those, who meant[1] that he should neither love his wife or his business, or any thing but their conversation.

These domestic indispositions and distempers, and the impression they made of several kinds upon the king's spirit and his humour, exceedingly discomposed the minds of the gravest and most serious men; gave the people generally occasion of speaking loudly, and with a license that the magistrates knew not how to punish, for the publication of the scandal: and the wisest men despaired of finding remedies to apply to the dissoluteness and debauchery of the time, which visibly increased. No man appeared to suffer or likely to suffer more than the chancellor, against whom though no particular person owned a malignity, the congregation of the witty men for the evening conversation were enough united against his interest; and thought his influence upon the king's actions and counsels would be too much augmented, if the queen came to have any power, who had a very good opinion of him: and it is very probable, that even that apprehension increased the combination against her majesty.

The lady had reason to hate him mortally, well knowing that there had been an inviolable friendship between her father and him to his death, which

[1] who meant] *Omitted in MS.*

had been notorious to all men; and that he was an implacable enemy to the power and interest she had with the king, and had used all the endeavours he could to destroy it. Yet neither she nor any of the other adventured to speak ill of him to the king, who at that time would not have borne it; except for wit's sake they sometimes reflected upon somewhat he had said, or acted some of his postures and manner of speaking, (the skill in mimicry being the best faculty in wit many of them had;) which license they practised often towards the king himself, and therefore his majesty thought it to be the more free from malice. But by these liberties, which at first only raised laughter, they by degrees got the hardiness to censure both the persons, counsels, and actions of those who were nearest his majesty's trust, with the highest malice and presumption; and too often suspended or totally disappointed some resolutions, which had been taken upon very mature deliberation, and which ought to have been pursued. But (as hath been said before) this presumption had not yet come to this length. 1662.

The king imparted the trouble and unquietness of his mind to nobody with equal freedom, as he did to the chancellor: to him he complained of all the queen's perverseness and ill humours, and informed him of all that passed between them, and obliged him to confer and advise the queen, who, he knew, looked upon him as a man devoted to her service, and that he would speak very confidently to her whatsoever he thought; and therefore gave him leave to take notice to her of any thing he had told him. It was too delicate a province for so plain-dealing a man as he was to undertake: and yet he The chancellor endeavours to

1662. knew not how to refuse it, nor indeed did despair totally of being able to do some good, since the queen was not yet more acquainted with any man than with him, nor spake so much with any man as with him; and he believed, that he might hereby have opportunity to speak sometimes to the king of some particulars with more freedom, than otherwise he could well do, at least more effectually.

reconcile their majesties.

He had never heard before of the honour the king had done that lady, nor of the purpose he had to make her of his wife's bedchamber. He spake with great boldness to him upon both; and did not believe that the first was proceeded in beyond revocation, because it had not come to the great seal, and gave him many arguments against it, which he thought of weight. But upon the other point he took more liberty, and spake "of the hardheartedness and cruelty in laying such a command upon "the queen, which flesh and blood could not comply "with." He put him in mind of what he heard his majesty himself say, upon the like excess which a neighbour king had lately used, in making his mistress to live in the court, and in the presence of the queen: that his majesty had then said, "that it "was such a piece of ill-nature, that he could never "be guilty of; and if ever he should be guilty of "having a mistress after he had a wife, which he "hoped he should never be, she should never come "where his wife was; he would never add that to "the vexation, of which she would have enough "without it." And yet he told him, "that such "friendships were not new in that other court, nor "scandalous in that kingdom; whereas in this it "was so unheard of and so odious, that a woman

" who prostituted herself to the king was equally " infamous to all women of honour, and must expect " the same contempt from them, as if she were com- " mon to mankind: and that no enemy he had " could advise him a more sure way to lose the " hearts and affections of the people, of which he " was now so abundantly possessed, than the in- " dulging to himself that liberty, now it had pleased " God to give him a wife worthy of him. That " the excess he had already used in that and other " ways had lost him some ground; but that the con- " tinuance in them would break the hearts of all his " friends, and be only grateful to those who wished " the destruction of monarchy:" and concluded with " asking his pardon for speaking so plainly," and besought his majesty to remember " the wonderful " things which God had done for him, and for which " he expected other returns than he had yet re- " ceived." 1662.

The king heard him with patience enough, yet with those little interruptions which were natural to him, especially to that part where he had levelled the mistresses of kings and princes with other lewd women, at which he expressed some indignation, being an argument often debated before him by those, who would have them looked upon above any other men's[k] wives. He did not appear displeased with the liberty he had taken, but said, " he knew it " proceeded from the affection he had for him;" and then proceeded upon the several parts of what he had said, more volubly than he used to do, as

[k] men's] *Omitted in MS.*

1662. upon points in which he was conversant, and had heard well debated.

To the first, he began with the story of an accident that had fallen out the day before; he said, "the lady had then told him, that she did hope "that the chancellor was not so much her enemy, "as he was generally reported to be, for she was "sure he was not guilty of one discourtesy of "which he had been accused to her, and therefore "might be as innocent in others; and then told his "majesty, that the day before, the earl of Bristol" (who was never without some reason to engage himself in such intrigues, and had been a principal promoter of all those late resolutions) "came to her, "and asked her whether the patent was not yet "passed. She answerd, No. He asked if she knew "the reason; which she seeming not to do, he told "her that he came in confidence to tell her, and "that if she did not quickly curb and overrule such "presumption, she would often meet it to her pre-"judice; then told her a long relation, how the pa-"tent had been carried to the chancellor prepared "for the seal, and that he according to his custom "had superciliously said, that he would first speak "with the king of it, and that in the mean time it "should not pass; and that if she did not make the "king very sensible of this his insolence, his majesty "should never be judge of his own bounty. And "then the lady laughed, and made sharp reflections "upon the principles of the earl of Bristol," (who had throughout his life the rare good fortune of being exceedingly beloved and exceedingly hated by the same persons, in the space of one month; and now

finding that there was a stop of the patent, made a very natural guess where it must be, and gratified his own appetite in the conclusion,) " and pulled " the warrant out of her pocket, where she said it " had remained ever since it was signed, and she " believed the chancellor had never heard of it: she " was sure there was no patent prepared, and there- " fore he could not stop it at the seal." 1662.

The truth is: though according to the custom she had assumed the title as soon as she had the warrant, that the other pretence might be prosecuted, she made not haste to pass the patent, lest her husband might stop it; and after long deliberation was not so confident of the chancellor, as to transmit it to the seal that was in his custody, but, the honour being Irish, sent it into that kingdom to pass the great seal there, where she was sure it could meet no interruption.

When the king had made this relation, and added some sharp remarks upon the earl of Bristol, as a man very particularly known and understood by him; he said, " that he had undone this lady, and " ruined her reputation, which had been fair and " untainted till her friendship for him; and that he " was obliged in conscience and honour to repair her " to the utmost of his power. That he would al- " ways avow to have a great friendship for her, " which he owed as well to the memory of her fa- " ther as to her own person; and that he would " look upon it as the highest disrespect to him, in " any body who should treat her otherwise than " was due to her own birth, and the dignity to " which he had raised her. That he liked her com-

1662. "pany and conversation, from which he would not be "restrained, because he knew there was and should "be all innocence in it: and that his wife should "never have cause to complain that he brake his "vows to her, if she would live towards him as a "good wife ought to do, in rendering herself grate- "ful and acceptable to him, which it was in her "power to do; but if she would continue uneasy to "him, he could not answer for himself, that he "should not endeavour to seek content in other "company. That he had proceeded so far in the "business that concerned the lady, and was so "deeply engaged in it, that she would not only be "exposed to all imaginable contempt, if it succeeded "not; but his own honour would suffer so much, "that he should become ridiculous to the world, and "be thought too in pupilage under a governor; and "therefore he would expect and exact a conformity "from his wife herein, which[1] should be the only "hard thing he would ever require from her, and "which she herself might make very easy, for the "lady would behave herself with all possible duty "and humility unto her, which if she should fail to "do in the least degree, she should never see the "king's face again: and that he would never be en- "gaged to put any other servant about her, without "first consulting with her, and receiving her con- "sent and approbation. Upon the whole," he said, "he would never recede from any part of the reso- "lution he had taken and expressed to him: and "therefore he required him to use all those argu-

[1] which] and which

"ments to the queen, which were necessary to in- 1662.
"duce her to a full compliance with what the king
"desired."

The chancellor addressed himself to the queen with as full liberty and plainness as he had presumed to use to his majesty, but could not proceed so far at a time, nor hold so long conferences at once. When he first lamented the misintelligence he observed to be between their majesties, and she perceived the king had told him some particulars, she protested her own innocence, but with so much passion and such a torrent of tears, that there was nothing left for him to do, but to retire, and tell her, "that he would wait upon her in a fitter sea-
"son, and when she should be more capable of re-
"ceiving humble advice from her servants, who
"wished her well;" and so departed.

The next day he waited upon her again at the hour assigned by her, and found her much better composed than he had left her. She vouchsafed to excuse the passion she had been in, and confessed "she looked upon him as one of the few friends she "had, and from whom she would most willingly at "all times receive counsel: but that she hoped he "would not wonder or blame her, if having greater "misfortunes upon her, and being to struggle with "more difficulties, than any woman had ever been "put to of her condition, she sometimes gave vent "to that passion that was ready to break her heart." He told her, "he was desirous indeed to serve her, "of which he would not make great or many pro-
"testations, since she could not but believe it, ex-
"cept she thought him to be a fool, or mad, since
"nothing could contribute so much to his happiness,

1662. "as an eminent sympathy between the king and "her in all things: and he could not give her a "greater evidence of his devotion, than in always "saying that to her which was fit for her to hear, "though it did not please her; and he would ob- "serve no other rule towards her, though it should "render him ungracious to her."

She seemed well satisfied with what he said, and told him "he should never be more welcome to her, "than when he told her of her faults:" to which he replied, "that it was the province he was accused "of usurping with reference to all his friends." He told her, "that he doubted she was little beholden "to her education, that had given her no better "information of the follies and iniquities of man- "kind, of which he presumed the climate from "whence she came could have given more instances, "than this cold region would afford;" though at that time it was indeed very hot. He said, "if her "majesty had been fairly dealt with in that parti- "cular, she could never have thought herself so "miserable, and her condition so insupportable "as she seemed to think it to be; the ground of "which heavy complaint he could not comprehend." Whereupon with some blushing and confusion and some tears she said[m], "she did not think that she "should have found the king engaged in his affec- "tion to another lady;" and then was able to say no more: which gave the chancellor opportunity to say, "that he knew well, that she had been very "little acquainted with or informed of the world; "yet he could not believe that she was so utterly

[m] she said] *Not in MS.*

" ignorant, as to expect that the king her husband, 1662.
" in the full strength and vigour of his youth [n], was
" of so innocent a constitution, as to be reserved for
" her whom he had never seen, and to have had no
" acquaintance or familiarity with the sex;" and asked [o], " whether she believed, when it should please
" God to send a queen to Portugal, she should find
" that court so full of chaste affections." Upon which her majesty smiled, and spake pleasantly enough, but as if she thought it did not concern her case, and as if the king's affection had not wandered, but remained fixed.

Upon which the chancellor replied with some warmth, " that he came to her with a message from
" the king, which if she received as she ought to do,
" and as he hoped she would, she would be the happiest queen in the world. That whatever correspondences the king had entertained with any
" other ladies, before he saw her majesty, concerned
" not her; nor ought she to inquire more into them
" or after them, than into what other excesses [p] he
" had used in his youth in France, Holland, or Germany. That he had authority to assure her, that
" all former appetites were expired, and that he dedicated himself entirely and without reserve to
" her; and that if she met his affection with that
" warmth and spirit and good humour, which she
" well knew how to express, she would live a life
" of the greatest delight imaginable. That her good
" fortune, and all the joy she could have in this
" world, was in her own power, and that she only
" strove [q] to drive it from her." She heard all this

[n] youth] use
[o] asked] *Omitted in MS.*
[p] excesses] exercises
[q] strove] *Omitted in MS.*

1662. with apparent pleasure, and infinite expressions of her acknowledgments of the king's bounty; thanked the chancellor more than enough, and desired him "to "help in returning her thanks to his majesty, and "in obtaining his pardon for any passion or peevish- "ness she might have been guilty of, and in assur- "ing him of all future obedience and duty."

Upon this good temper he approached to the other part of his message, "how necessary it would "be that her majesty should gratify this good reso- "lution and justice and tenderness in the king, by "meeting it with a proportionable submission and "resignation on her part to whatsoever his majesty "should desire of her;" and then insinuated what would be acceptable with reference to the lady. But this was no sooner mentioned, than it raised all the rage and fury of yesterday, with fewer tears, the fire appearing in her eyes, where the water was. She said, "that the king's insisting upon that par- "ticular could proceed from no other ground but "his hatred of her person, and to expose her to the "contempt of the world, who would think her wor- "thy of such an affront, if she submitted to it; "which before she would do, she would put herself "on board any little vessel, and so be transported "to Lisbon:" with many other extravagant expres- sions, which her passion suggested in spite of her understanding; and which he interrupted with a very ill countenance, and told her, "that she had "not the disposal of her own person, nor could go "out of the house where she was without the king's "leave;" and therefore advised her "not to speak "any more of Portugal, where there were enough "who would wish her to be." He told her, "that

"he would find some fitter time to speak with her, 1662.
" and till then only desired that she would make
" show of no such passion to the king; and that
" whatever she thought fit to deny that the king
" proposed to her, she should deny in such a manner,
" as should look rather like a deferring than an ut-
" ter refusal, that his majesty might not be pro-
" voked to enter into the same passion, which would
" be superior to hers."

The chancellor made the more haste to inform the king of all that had passed, that he might prevail with him to suspend for some little time the prosecuting that argument further with the queen. He gave him an account of all the good and kind things she had said with reference to his majesty, of the professions she had made of all duty and obedience to him throughout the whole course of her life; " that her unwillingness to obey him in this " one particular proceeded only from the great pas-
" sion of love which she had for him; that trans-
" ported her beyond the limits of her reason." He confessed, " he had not discoursed it so fully with
" her majesty as he resolved to have done, because
" a sudden passion had seized upon her, which she
" must have some time to overrule;" and therefore he entreated his majesty " for a day or two to for-
" bear pressing the queen in that matter, till he had
" once more waited upon her, by which he hoped he
" might in some degree dispose her majesty to give
" him satisfaction." And though he was in no degree pleased with the account, yet the other did think, that he would for a little have respited the further discourse of it.

But the king quickly found other counsellors, who

1662. told him, " that the thing he contended for was not " of so much importance as the manner of obtaining " it; that the contention now was, who should go- " vern; and if he suffered himself to be disputed " with, he must resolve hereafter to do all things " *precario*." And as this advice was more suitable to his present passion and purpose, so it was embraced greedily and resolutely. The fire flamed that night higher than ever: the king reproached the queen with stubbornness and want of duty, and she him with tyranny and want of affection: he used threats and menaces, which he never intended to put in execution, and she talked loudly " how ill she was " treated, and that she would return again to Por- " tugal." He replied, " that she should do well first " to know whether her mother would receive her: " and he would give her a fit opportunity to know " that, by sending to their home all her Portuguese " servants; and that he would forthwith give order " for the discharge of them all, since they behaved " themselves so ill, for to them and their counsels " he imputed all her perverseness."

The passion and noise of the night reached too many ears to be a secret the next day; and the whole court was full of that, which ought to have been known to nobody. And the mutual carriage and behaviour between their majesties confirmed all that they had heard or could imagine: they spake not, hardly looked on one another. Every body was glad that they were so far from the town, (for they were still at Hampton-court,) and that there were so few witnesses of all that passed. The queen sat melancholic in her chamber in tears, except when she drove them away by a more violent passion in

choleric discourse: and the king sought his diver- 1662.
tisements in that company that said and did all things to please him; and there he spent all the nights, and in the morning came to the queen's chamber, for he never slept in any other place. Nobody knew how to interpose, or indeed how to behave themselves, the court being far from one mind; with this difference, that the young and frolic people of either sex talked loudly all that they thought the king would like and be pleased with, whilst the other more grave and serious people did in their souls pity the queen, and thought that she was put to bear more than her strength could sustain.

The chancellor came not to the court in two or three days; and when he did come thither, he forbore to see the queen, till the king sent him again to her. His majesty informed him at large, and with more than his natural passion, of all that had passed; and "of the foolish extravagancy" (as he called it) "of returning to Portugal; and of the positive "resolution he had taken, and the orders he had "given, for the present sending away all the Portu- "gueses, to whom he did impute all his wife's fro- "wardness." He renewed his former declaration, "that he would gain his point, and never depart "from that resolution;" yet was content to be blamed by the chancellor, for having proceeded with so much choler and precipitation, and seemed to think that he had done better, if he had followed his former advice. But then he added, "that be- "sides the uneasiness and pain within himself, the "thing was more spoken of in all places, and more "to his disadvantage, whilst it was in this suspense,

1662. "than it would be when it was once executed;
"which would put a final end to all debates, and all
"would be forgotten."

The chancellor desired his majesty to believe,
"that he would endeavour, by all the ways he
"could devise, to persuade the queen to submit to
"his pleasure, because it is his pleasure; and that
"he would urge some arguments to her, which he
"could not himself answer; and therefore he was
"not without hope that they might prevail. But
"he desired him likewise to believe, that he had
"much rather spend his pains in endeavouring to
"convert his majesty from pursuing his resolution,
"which he did in his conscience believe to be un-
"just, than in persuading her majesty to comply
"with it, which yet he would very heartily do."
He desired him "to give him leave to put him in
"mind of a discourse his majesty had held with
"him many years ago, upon an occasion that he
"had administered by telling him what his father,
"the late king, had said to him: that he had great
"reason to acknowledge it due[r] to God's immediate
"blessing, and in truth to his inspiration, that he
"continued firm in his religion: for though his fa-
"ther had always taken pains himself to inform and
"instruct him, yet he had been so much deceived
"by others that he put about him when he was
"young, a company of the arrantest knaves and pu-
"ritans" (they were his own words) "that could be
"found in the two kingdoms; whereof he named
"two or three, who were enemies to the church,
"and used to deride all religion. That when he had

[r] due] *Not in MS.*

"related this discourse accidentally of his late ma- 1662.
"jesty, the king replied, that if it should please God
"ever to give him a wife and children, he would
"make choice of such people to be about both in
"all places of near trust, who in their natures and
"manners, and if it were possible in their very hu-
"mours, were such as he wished his wife and chil-
"dren should be; for he did believe that most
"young people (and it may be elder) were upon
"the matter formed by those whom they saw con-
"tinually and could not but observe." The king answered with some quickness, "that he remem-
"bered the discourse very well, and should think
"of it; but that the business which he had com-
"mended to him must be done, and without de-
"lay."

When the chancellor was admitted to the queen, he presumed with all plainness to blame her "for
"the illimited passion with[s] which she had treated
"the king, and thereby provoked him to greater in-
"dignation than she could imagine, or in truth sus-
"tain:" and begged[t], "that for her own sake she
"would decline and suppress such distempers, which
"could have no other effect, than in making the
"wound incurable; which it would do, in a very
"little time more, inevitably, and reduce all her
"faithful servants to an incapacity of serving her." She acknowledged with tears, "that she had been in
"too much passion, and said somewhat she ought
"not to have said, and for which she would wil-
"lingly ask the king's pardon upon her knees;

[s] with] in

[t] begged] *Not in MS.*

1562. "though his manner of treating her had wonder-
"fully surprised her, and might be some excuse for
"more than ordinary commotion. That she prayed
"to God to give her patience, and hoped she should
"be no more transported with the like passion upon
"what provocation soever."

Then he entreated, "that he might find some
"effect of that her good resolution, in permitting
"him to enlarge upon the argument he was obliged
"to discourse to her; and that if he offered any
"humble advice, it should be such as he was most
"confident would prove for her benefit, and such as
"he would himself submit to if he were in her con-
"dition." He told her, "he came not to justify
"and defend the proposition that had been made to
"her concerning the lady, as a just or a reasonable
"proposition; he had not dissembled his own opin-
"ion as to either, and when he should now insist
"upon it again, which he must do, he could not but
"confess that it was a very hard injunction, not to
"be yielded to without some reluctancy:" but he
besought her to tell him, "whether she thought it
"in her power to divert it; or that it was not in
"the king's power to impose it upon her."

She answered, "she knew it was in her own
"power to consent or not to consent to it; and that
"she could not despair, but that the king's justice
"and goodness might divert him from the prosecu-
"tion of a command so unreasonable in him, and so
"dishonourable to her. She would not dispute the
"king's power, what it might impose, being sure
"that she could not rescue herself from it: but,"
she said, "nobody knew better than he, whether the

" king was obliged to leave the choice of her own 1662.
" servants to herself; and if it were otherwise, she
" had been deceived."

He told her, " that she had and would always en-
" joy that privilege: but that it was always under-
" stood in conditions of that nature, that as the hus-
" band would not impose a servant, against whom
" just exceptions could be made; so it was pre-
" sumed, that no wife would refuse to receive a ser-
" vant, that was esteemed and commended by her
" husband. That he did assure her, upon as much
" knowledge as he was capable to have in affairs of
" such a nature, that the king would exact an entire
" conformity to his pleasure in this particular; and
" then the question would only be, whether it would
" be better that she conform herself with alacrity
" to an obedience, with those circumstances which
" might be obliging and meritorious on her part; or
" that it should be done without her consent, and
" with all the repugnancy she could express, which
" could only be in angry words and ungracious
" circumstances, which would have a more bitter
" operation in her own breast and thoughts, than
" any where else: and therefore he did very impor-
" tunately advise her to submit to that cheerfully,
" that she could not resist; which if she should not
" do, and do out of hand, she would too late re-
" pent."

To which she replied with great calmness, " that
" it may be worse could not fall out than she ex-
" pected; but why she should repent the not giving
" her consent, she could not apprehend, since her
" conscience would not give her leave to consent:"
which when she saw him receive with a face of

1662. trouble and wonder, which it was his misfortune and weakness never to be able to conceal or dissemble, she continued her discourse, and said, "she "could not conceive how any body could, with a "good conscience, consent to what she could not "but suppose would be an occasion and opportunity "of sin." To which he suddenly replied, "that he "now understood her; and that she ought to have "no such apprehension, but to believe the profes-"sions the king made, of the sincerity whereof she "would hereby become a witness; and if there "should be any tergiversation, the opportunity, "which she fancied, would be more frequent at a "distance than by such a relation, which nothing "but a resolved innocence could make desirable by "either party." To which he added, "that he "thought her majesty had too mean and low an "opinion [u] of her person and her parts, if she thought "it could be in the power of any other lady to de-"prive her of the interest she had a right to, if she "did all that became her to retain it; and which in "that case she could not lose but by the highest "fraud and perjury, which she could not justly en-"tertain the suspicion of."

There cannot be a greater patience and intentness of hearing, than the queen manifested during the time of his discourse, sometimes seeming not displeased, but oftener by a smile declaring that she did not believe what he said: and in conclusion, in few words declared, "that the king might do what "he pleased, but that she would [x] not consent to it;" and pronounced it with a countenance, as if she

[u] had too mean and low an opinion] had a meaner and a lower opinion

[x] would] could

both hoped and believed, that her obstinacy would in the end prevail over the king's importunity: and it is very probable, that she had advice given her to that purpose. The chancellor concluded with telling her, "that he would give her no more trouble "upon this particular: that he was sorry he had not "credit enough to prevail with her majesty in a "point that would have turned so much to her be- "nefit; and that she would hereafter be sorry for "her refusal." And when he had given the king a faithful account of all that had passed; and "that "he believed them both to be very much to blame, "and that that party would be most excusable who "yielded first;" he made it his humble suit, "that "he might be no more consulted with, nor employed "in an affair in which he had been so unsuccessful." 1662.

His endeavours prove unsuccessful.

The king came seldom into the queen's company, and when he did he spake not to her; but spent his time in other divertisements, and in the company of those who made it their business to laugh at all the world, and who were as bold with God Almighty as with any of his creatures. He persevered in all his resolutions without any remorse; directed a day for all the Portugueses to be embarked, without assigning any considerable thing of bounty to any of them, or vouchsafing to write any letter to the king or queen of Portugal of the cause of the dismission of them. And this rigour prevailed upon the great heart of the queen, who had not received any money to enable her to be liberal to any of those, who had attended her out of their own country, and promised themselves places of great advantage in her family: and she earnestly desired the king, "that "she might retain some few of those who were

1662. "known to her, and of most use, that she might not "be wholly left in the hands of strangers;" and employed others to make the same suit to the king on her behalf. Whereupon the countess of Penalva, who had been bred with her from a child, and who, by the infirmity of her eyes and other indisposition of health, scarce stirred out of her chamber, was permitted to remain in the court: and some few [y] inferior servants in her kitchen and in the lowest offices, besides those who were necessary to her devotions, were left here. All the rest were [z] transported to Portugal.

The officers of the revenue were required to use all strictness in the receipt of that part of the portion that was brought over with the fleet; and not to allow any of those demands which were made upon computation of the value of money, and other allowances, upon the account: and Diego de Silva, who was designed in Portugal without any good reason to be the queen's treasurer, and upon that expectation had undertaken that troublesome province to see the money paid in London by what was assigned to that purpose, was committed to prison for not making haste enough in the payment and in finishing the account; and his commitment went very near the queen, as an affront done to herself. The Portugal ambassador, who was a very honest man, and so desirous to serve the king that he had upon the matter lost the queen, was heartbroken; and after a long sickness, which all men believed would have killed him, as soon as he was able to endure the air, left Hampton-court, and retired to his own house in the city.

[y] few] other. [z] were] *Omitted in MS.*

In all this time the king pursued his point: the lady 1662.
came to the court, was lodged there, was every day in the queen's presence, and the king in continual conference with her; whilst the queen sat untaken notice of: and if her majesty rose at the indignity and retired into her chamber, it may be one or two attended her; but all the company remained in the room she left, and too often said those things aloud which nobody ought to have whispered. The king (who had in the beginning of this conflict appeared still with a countenance of trouble and sadness, which had been manifest to every body, and no doubt was really afflicted, and sometimes wished that he had not proceeded so far, until he was again new chafed with the reproach of being governed, which he received with the most sensible indignation, and was commonly provoked with it most by those who intended most to govern him) had now vanquished or suppressed all those tendernesses and reluctances, and appeared every day more gay and pleasant, without any clouds in his face, and full of good humour; saving that the close observers thought it more feigned and affected than of a natural growth. However, to the queen it appeared very real, and made her the more sensible, that she alone was left out in all jollities, and not suffered to have any part of those pleasant applications and caresses, which she saw made almost to every body else; an universal mirth in all company but in hers, and in all places but in her chamber; her own servants shewing more respect and more diligence to the person of the lady, than towards their own mistress, who they found could do them less good. The nightly meeting continued with the same or more

1662. license; and the discourses which passed there, of what argument soever, were the discourse of the whole court and of the town the day following: whilst the queen had the king's company those few hours which remained of the preceding night, and which were too little for sleep.

All these mortifications were too heavy to be borne: so that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the queen on a sudden let herself fall first to conversation and then to familiarity, and even in the same instant to a confidence with the lady; was merry with her in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly. This excess of condescension, without any provocation or invitation, except by multiplication of injuries and neglect, and after all friendships were renewed, and indulgence yielded to new liberty, did the queen less good than her former resoluteness had done. Very many looked upon her with much compassion, commended the greatness of her spirit, detested the barbarity of the affronts she underwent, and censured them as loudly as they durst; not without assuming the liberty sometimes of insinuating to the king himself, "how much his own honour "suffered in the neglect and disrespect of her own "servants, who ought at least in public to manifest "some duty and reverence towards her majesty; "and how much he lost in the general affections of "his subjects: and that, besides the displeasure of "God Almighty, he could not reasonably hope for "children by the queen, which was the great if not "the only blessing of which he stood in need, "whilst her heart was so full of grief, and whilst "she was continually exercised with such insup-

"portable afflictions." And many, who were not wholly unconversant with the king, nor strangers to his temper and constitution, did believe that he grew weary of the struggle, and even ready to avoid the scandal that was so notorious, by the lady's withdrawing from the verge of the court and being no longer seen there, how firmly soever the friendship might be established. But this sudden downfall and total abandoning her own greatness, this low demeanour and even application to a person she had justly abhorred and worthily contemned, made all men conclude, that it was a hard matter to know her, and consequently to serve her. And the king himself was so far from being reconciled by it, that the esteem, which he could not hitherto but retain in his heart for her, grew now much less. He concluded that all her former aversion expressed in those lively passions, which seemed not capable of dissimulation, was all fiction, and purely acted to the life by a nature crafty, perverse, and inconstant. He congratulated his own ill-natured perseverance, by which he had discovered how he was to behave himself hereafter, and what remedies he was to apply to all future indispositions: nor had he ever after the same value of her wit, judgment, and understanding, which he had formerly; and was well enough pleased to observe, that the reverence others had for all three was somewhat diminished. 1662.

The parliament assembled together at the same time in February to which they had been adjourned or prorogued, and continued together till the end of July following. They brought the same affection and duty with them towards the king, which they had formerly; but were much troubled at what they 1663. The parliament meets Feb. 18.

1663. had heard and what they had observed of the divisions in court. They had the same fidelity for the king's service, but not the same alacrity in it: the despatch was much slower in all matters depending, than it had used to be. The truth is; the house of commons was upon the matter not the same: three years sitting, for it was very near so long since they had been first assembled, had consumed very many of their members; and in the places of those who died, great pains were taken to have some of the king's menial servants chosen; so that there was a very great number of men in all stations in the court, as well below stairs as above, who were members of the house of commons. And there were very few of them, who did not think themselves qualified to reform whatsoever was amiss in church or state, and to procure whatsoever supply the king would require.

They, who either out of their own modesty, or in regard of their distant relation to his service, had seldom had access to his presence, never had presumed to speak to him; now by the privilege of parliament every day resorted to him, and had as much conference with him as they desired. They, according to the comprehension they had of affairs, represented their advice to him for the conducting his affairs; according to their several opinions and observations represented those and those men as well affected to his service, and others, much better than they, who did not pay them so much respect, to be ill-affected and to want duty for his majesty. They brought those, who appeared to them to be most zealous for his service, because they professed to be ready to do any thing he pleased to prescribe,

to receive his majesty's thanks, and from himself his immediate directions how to behave themselves in the house; when the men were capable of no other instruction, than to follow the example of some discreet man in whatsoever he should vote, and behave themselves accordingly. 1663.

To this time, the king had been content to refer the conduct of his affairs in the parliament to the chancellor and the treasurer; who had every day conference with some select persons of the house of commons, who had always served the king, and upon that account had great interest in that assembly, and in regard of the experience they had and their good parts were hearkened to with reverence. And with those they consulted in what method to proceed in disposing the house, sometimes to propose, sometimes to consent to what should be most necessary for the public; and by them to assign parts to other men, whom they found disposed and willing to concur in what was to be desired: and all this without any noise, or bringing many together to design, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to parliaments, and, however it may succeed for a little time, will in the end be attended with prejudice.

Characters of two leading men in the house of commons.

But there were two persons now introduced to act upon that stage, who disdained to receive orders, or to have any method prescribed to them; who took upon them to judge of other men's defects, and thought their own abilities beyond exception.

Of Sir Henry Bennet.

The one was sir Harry Bennet, who had procured himself to be sent agent or envoy into Spain, as soon as the king came from Brussels; being a man very well known to the king, and for his pleasant and agreeable humour acceptable to him: and

1663. he remained there at much ease till the king returned to England, having waited upon his majesty at Fuentarabia in the close of the treaty between the two crowns, and there appeared by his dexterity to have gained good credit in the court of Spain, and particularly with don Lewis de Haro; and by that short negociation he renewed and confirmed the former good inclinations of his master to him. He had been obliged always to correspond with the chancellor, by whom his instructions had been drawn, and to receive the king's pleasure by his signification; which he had always done, and professed much respect and submission to him: though whatever orders he received, and how positive soever, in particulars which highly concerned the king's honour and dignity, he observed them so far and no further than his own humour disposed him; and in some cases flatly disobeyed what the king enjoined, and did directly the contrary, as in the case of the Jesuit Peter Talbot; who having carried himself with notorious insolence towards the king in Flanders, had transported himself into England, offered his service to Cromwell, and after his death was employed by the ruling powers into Spain, upon his undertaking to procure orders, by which the king should not be suffered longer to reside in Flanders: of all which his majesty having received full advertisement, he made haste to send orders into Spain to sir Harry Bennet, "that he should prepare "don Lewis for his reception by letting him know, "that though that Jesuit was his natural subject, "he had so misbehaved himself, that he looked "upon him as a most inveterate[z] enemy and a trai-

[z] inveterate] *Omitted in MS.*

"tor; and therefore his majesty desired, that he "might receive no countenance there, being, as he "well knew, sent by the greatest rebels to do him "prejudice." 1663.

This was received by sir Harry Bennet before the arrival of the man, who found no inconvenience by it; and instead of making any complaint concerning him, he writ word, "that Talbot had more "credit than he in that court; that he professed to "have great devotion for the king; and therefore "his advice was, that the king would have a better "opinion of him, and employ him in his service:" and himself received him into his full confidence, and consulted with no man so much as with him; which made all men believe that he was a Roman catholic, who did believe that he had any religion. But he had made his full excuse and defence for all this at the interview at Fuentarabia, from whence the king returned with marvellous satisfaction in his discretion as well as in his affection. And until, contrary to all his expectation, he heard of the king's return into England, all his thoughts were employed how to make benefit of the duke of York's coming into Spain to be admiral of the galleys; which he writ to hasten all that might be.

Though he continued his formal correspondence with the chancellor, which he could not decline; yet he held a more secret intelligence with Daniel O'Neile of the bedchamber, with whom he had a long friendship. As soon as the king arrived in England, he trusted O'Neile to procure any direction from the king immediately in those particulars which himself advised. And so he obtained the king's consent, for his consenting to the old league

1663. that had been made between England and Spain in the time of the late king, and which Spain had expressly refused to renew after the death of that king, (which was suddenly proclaimed in Spain, without ever being consulted in England;) and presently after leave to return into England without any letter of revocation: both which were procured, or rather signified, by O'Neile, without the privity of the chancellor or of either of the secretaries of state; nor did either of them know that he was from Madrid, till they heard he was in Paris, from whence he arrived in London in a very short time after. So far the chancellor was from that powerful interest or influence, when his credit was at highest.

But he was very well received by the king, in whose affections he had a very good place: and shortly after his arrival, though not so soon as he thought his high merit deserved, his majesty conferred the only place then void (and that had been long promised to a noble person, who had behaved himself very well towards his majesty and his blessed father) upon him, which was the office of privy purse; received him into great familiarity, and into the nightly meeting, in which he filled a principal place to all intents and purposes. The king very much desired to have him elected a member in the house of commons, and commanded the chancellor to use his credit to obtain it upon the first opportunity: and in obedience to that command, he did procure him to be chosen about the time we are now speaking of, when the parliament assembled in February.

Of Mr. William Coventry.

The other person was Mr. William Coventry, the youngest son to a very wise father, the lord Coven-

try, who had been lord keeper of the great seal of England for many years with an [a] universal reputation. This gentleman was young whilst the war continued: yet he had put himself before the end of it into the army, and had the command of a foot company, and shortly after travelled into France; where he remained whilst there was any hope of getting another army for the king, or that either of the other crowns would engage in his quarrel. But when all thoughts of that were desperate, he returned into England; where he remained for many years without the least correspondence with any of his friends beyond the seas, and with so little reputation of caring much for the king's restoration, that some of his own family, who were most zealous for his majesty's service, and had always some signal part in any reasonable design, took care of nothing more, than that nothing they did should come to his knowledge; and gave the same advice to those about the king, with whom they corresponded, to use the same caution. Not that any body suspected his being inclined to the rebels, or to do any act of treachery; but that the pride and censoriousness of his nature made him unconversable, and his despair that any thing could be effectually done made him incompetent to consult the ways of doing it. Nor had he any conversation with any of the king's party, nor they with him, till the king was proclaimed in London; and then he came over with the rest to offer his service to his majesty at the Hague, and had the good fortune to find the duke of York without a secretary. For though he had a 1663.

[a] an] a

1663. Walloon that was, in respect of the languages of which he was master, fit for that function in the army, and had discharged it very well for some years; yet for the province the duke was now to govern, having the office of high admiral of England, he was without any fit person to discharge the office of secretary with any tolerable sufficiency: so that Mr. Coventry no sooner offered his service to the duke, but he was received into that employment, very honourable under such a master, and in itself of the greatest profit next the secretaries of state, if they in that respect be to be preferred.

He had been well known to the king and duke in France, and had a brother whom the king loved well and had promised to take into his bedchamber, as he shortly after did, Harry Coventry, who was beloved by every body, which made them glad of the preferment of the other; whilst they who knew the worst of him, yet knew him able to discharge that office, and so contributed to the duke's receiving him. He was a sullen, ill-natured, proud man, whose ambition had no limits, nor could be contained within any. His parts were very good, if he had not thought them better than any other man's; and he had diligence and industry, which men of good parts are too often without, which made him [b] quickly to have at least credit and power enough with the duke; and he was without those vices which were too much in request, and which make men most unfit for business and the trust that cannot be separated from it.

He had sat a member in the house of commons,

[b] him] *Omitted in MS.*

from the beginning of the parliament, with very much reputation of an able man. He spake pertinently, and was always very acceptable and well heard; and was one of those with whom they, who were trusted by the king in conducting his affairs in the lower house, consulted very frequently; but not so much, nor relied equally upon his advice, as upon some few others who had much more experience, which he thought was of use only to ignorant and dull men, and that men of sagacity could see and determine at a little light, and ought rather to persuade and engage men to do that which they judged fit, than consider what themselves were inclined to do: and so did not think himself to be enough valued and relied upon, and only to be made use of to the celebrating the designs and contrivance of other men, without being signal in the managery, which he aspired to be. Nor did any man envy him the province, if he could indeed have governed it, and that others who had more useful talents would have been ruled by him. However, being a man who naturally loved faction and contradiction, he often made experiments how far he could prevail in the house, by declining the method that was prescribed, and proposing somewhat to the house that was either beside or contrary to it, and which the others would not oppose, believing, in regard of his relation, that he had received newer directions: and then if it succeeded well, (as sometimes it did,) he had argument enough to censure and inveigh against the chancellor, for having taken so ill measures of the temper and affections of the house; for he did not dissemble in his private conversation (though his outward carriage was very fair) that he had no

1663.

1663. kindness for him, which in gratitude he ought to have had; nor had he any thing to complain of from him, but that he wished well and did all he could to defend and support a very worthy person, who had deserved very well from the king, against whom he manifested a great and causeless animosity, and desired to oppress for his own profit, of which he had an immoderate appetite.

When those two persons, sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, (between whom there had been as great a league of friendship, as can be between two very proud men equally ill-natured,) came now to sit together in the house of commons; though the former of them knew no more of the constitution and laws of England than he did of China, nor had in truth a care or tenderness for church or state, but believed France was the best pattern in the world; they thought they should have the greatest wrong imaginable, if they did not entirely govern it, and if the king took his measures of what should be done there from any body but themselves. They made friendships with some young men, who spake confidently and often, and[c] upon some occasions seemed to have credit in the house. And upon a little conversation with those men, who, being country gentlemen of ordinary condition and mean fortunes, were desirous to have interest in such a person as sir Harry Bennet, who was believed to have great credit with the king; he believed he understood the house, and what was to be done there, as well as any man in England.

He recommended those men to the king "as per-

[c] and] *Not in MS.*

"sons of sublime parts, worthy of his majesty's ca- 1663.
"ressing: that he would undertake to fix them to
"his service; and when they were his own, he
"might carry what he would in the house of com-
"mons." The men had parts indeed and good affections, and often had resorted to the chancellor, received advice from him, and thought themselves beholden to him; being at that time entirely governed by sir Hugh Pollard, who was himself still advised by the chancellor (with whom he had a long and fast friendship) how he should direct his friends, having indeed a greater party in the house of commons willing to be disposed of by him, than any man that ever sat there in my time. But now these gentlemen had got a better patron; the new courtier had raised their value, and talked in another dialect to them, of recompenses and rewards, than they had heard formerly. He carried them to the king, and told his majesty in their own hearing, "what men of parts they were, what services they "had done for him, and how much greater they "could do:" and his majesty received and conferred with them very graciously, and dismissed them with promises which made them rich already.

The two friends before mentioned agreed so well between themselves, that whether they spake together or apart to the king, they said always the same things, gave the same information, and took care that both their masters might have the same opinions and judgments. They magnified the affections of the house of commons, "which were so "great and united, that they would do whatso-"ever his majesty would require. That there were "many worthy and able men, of whose wisdom the

1663. "house was so well persuaded, that they commonly "consented to whatsoever they proposed: and that "these men complained, that they had no directions "given to them which way they might best serve "the king; they knew not what he desired, which "when they should do, it would quickly appear how "much they were at the king's disposal, and all "things which now depended long would be here-"after despatched in half the time."

The king wondered very much, "that his friends "in the house were no better informed, of which he "had never heard any complaint before, and wished "them to speak with the chancellor:" for neither of these men were yet arrived at the confidence to insinuate in the least degree any ill-will or prejudice to him, though they were not united in any one thing more than the desire of his ruin, and the resolution to compass it by all the ill arts and devices they could use; but till it should be more seasonable, they dissembled to both their masters to have a high esteem of him, having not yet credit enough with either to do him harm. They said, "they would very willingly repair to him, and be "directed by him: but they desired that his majesty "himself would first speak to him (because it would "not so well become them) to call those persons, "whom they had recommended to him, to meet "together with the rest with whom he used to ad-"vise; which the persons they named they were "sure would be very glad of, having all of them a "great esteem of the chancellor, and being well "known to him," as indeed they were, and most of them obliged by him.

The king willingly undertook it: and being shortly

after attended by the chancellor, his majesty told 1663.
him all that the other two had said to him, and did not forget to let him know the great good-will they had both professed towards him. He asked him "what he thought of such and such men," and particularly named Mr. Clifford and Mr. Churchill, and some other men of better quality and much more interest, "who," he said, "took it ill that they were "not particularly informed what the king desired, "and which way they might best serve him;" and bade him, "that at the next meeting of the rest, "these men might likewise have notice to be pre-"sent, together with sir Harry Bennet and Mr. "William Coventry;" for Harry Coventry (who was a much wiser man than his brother, and had a much better reputation with wise men) was constantly in those councils.

The chancellor told him, "that great and noto-"rious meetings and cabals in parliament had been "always odious in parliament: and though they "might produce some success in one or two parti-"culars till they were discovered, they had always "ended unluckily; until they were introduced in "the late ill times by so great a combination, that "they could not receive any discountenance. Yet "that they, who compassed all their wicked designs "by those cabals, were so jealous that they might "be overmatched by the like practices, that when "they discovered any three or four of those, who "were used to concur with them, to have any pri-"vate meetings, they accused them to conspire "against the parliament. That when his majesty "returned, and all the world was full of joy and de-"light to serve him, and persons were willing and

1663. "importunate to receive direction how they might
"do it in that convention; care had been taken
"without any noise, or bringing any prejudice upon
"those who were willing to be instruments towards
"the procuring what was desirable, and to prevent
"what would be ingrateful, that little notice might
"be taken of them, which had good success.

"That since this parliament the lord treasurer
"and he had, by his majesty's direction, made choice
"of some persons eminent for their affection to the
"crown, of great experience and known abilities,
"to confer with for the better preparing and con-
"ducting what was to be done in the house of
"commons: but the number of them was not so
"great as to give any umbrage. Nor did they meet
"oftener together with them, than upon accidents
"and contingencies was absolutely necessary; but
"appointed those few who had a mutual confidence
"in each other, and every one of which had an
"influence upon others and advised them what to
"do, to meet by themselves, either at the lord
"Bridgman's or Mr. Attorney's chambers, who still
"gave notice to the other two of what was neces-
"sary, and received advice. That there were very
"few of any notable consideration, who did not fre-
"quently repair to both [d] of them, either to dine
"with them or to perform some office of civility;
"with every one of whom they conferred, and said
"what was necessary to inform [e] them what was fit
"for them to do.

"That two of those who were named by his ma-
"jesty, Mr. Clifford and Mr. Churchill, were honest

[d] frequently repair to both] frequent to both

[e] inform] inform and oblige

" gentlemen, and received the advice they were to 1663.
" follow from sir Hugh Pollard, who had in truth a
" very particular influence upon all the Cornish and
" Devonshire men. And that his majesty might
" know that he had not been well informed, that the
" others named by him took it unkindly that they
" did not know his pleasure, who were leading men,
" as indeed they were; he assured his majesty that
" there was not one of those, who was not particu-
" larly consulted with, and advertised by some per-
" son who was chosen by every one of them for that
" purpose[f]; and that they would by no means resort
" to any meeting, fearing to undergo the odious
" name of undertakers, which in all parliaments hath
" been a brand: but as they had never opposed any
" thing that related to his service, so upon any pri-
" vate insinuation they had been ready to propose
" any thing which would not have been so accept-
" able from any, who had been known to have rela-
" tion to his service, or to depend upon those who
" had."

He besought his majesty to consider, " whether
" any thing had hitherto, in near three years, fallen
" out amiss, or short of what he had expected, in
" the wary administration that had been in that
" affair;" and did not conceal his own fears, " that
" putting it into a more open and wider channel,
" his majesty's own too public speaking with the
" members of parliament, and believing what every
" man who was present told him passed in debates,
" and who for want of comprehension as well as me-
" mory committed many mistakes in their relations,

[f] purpose] person

1663. "would be attended with some inconveniences not "easy to be remedied." The king was not dissatisfied with the discourse, but seemed to approve it: however he would have sir Harry Bennet, Mr. Clifford, and Churchill, called to the next meeting; and because they were to be introduced into company they had not used to converse with, that it should be at the chancellor's chamber, who should let the rest know the good opinion his majesty had of those who were added to the number.

An alteration in the management of the house of commons.

By this means and with these circumstances this alteration was made in the conduct of the king's service in the parliament; upon which many other alterations followed by degrees, though not at once. Yet presently it appeared, that this introduction of new confidents was not acceptable to those, who thought they had very well discharged their trust. Sir Harry Bennet was utterly unknown to them, a man unversed in any business, who never had nor ever was like to speak in the house, except in his ear who sat next him to the disadvantage of some who had spoken, and had not the faculties to get himself beloved, and was thought by all men to be a Roman catholic, for which they had not any other reason but from his indifference in all things which concerned the church.

When they met first at the chancellor's chamber, as the king had directed, they conferred freely together with little difference of opinion: though it appeared that they, who had used to be together before, did not use the same freedom as formerly in delivering their particular judgments, not having confidence enough in the new comers, who in their private meetings afterwards took more upon them,

rather to direct than to advise; so that the other grew unsatisfied in their conversation[s]. And though the meetings continued at one of the places before mentioned, some always discontinued their attendance; so that by degrees there were less resolutions taken than had been formerly; nor was there so cheerful a concurrence, or so speedy a despatch of the business depending in the house, as had been. 1663.

However, there appeared nothing of disunion in the parliament, but the same zeal and concurrence in all things which related to the king. The murmurs and discontents were most in the country, where the people began to talk with more license and less reverence of the court and of the king himself, and to reproach the parliament for their raising so much money, and increasing of the impositions upon the kingdom, without having done any thing for the redress of any grievance that lay upon the people. The license with reference to religion grew every day greater, the conventicles more frequent and more insolent, which disturbed the country exceedingly; but not so much as the liberty the papists assumed, who behaved themselves with indiscretion, and bragged as if they had a toleration and cared not what the magistrates could do. The parliament had a desire to have provided against those evils with the same rigour: but though there would have been a general consent in any provision that could be made against the fanatics and the conventicles, yet there would not be the like concurrence against the papists; and it was not possible to carry on the one without the other. And therefore the court,

[s] conversation] conversion.

1663. that they might be sure to prevent the last, interrupted all that was proposed against the former, which they wished provided against, and chose to have neither out of fear of both; which increased the disorders in the country, and caused more reflections upon the court: so that this session of parliament produced less of moment than any other.

And the king, after they had given him four subsidies, which was all the money they could be drawn to give, that he might part as kindly with them as he used to do, and upon discovery of several seditious meetings amongst the officers of the disbanded army, which he could best suppress when he had most leisure, he resolved to prorogue the parliament. And so sending for them upon the twenty-seventh of July, he thanked them for the present which they had made to him of the four subsidies, "which," he told them, "he would not have received from "them, if it were not absolutely necessary for their "peace and quiet as well as his: and that it would "yet do him very little good, if he did not improve "it by very good husbandry of his own; and by re-"trenching those very expenses, which in many "respects might be thought necessary enough. But "they should see that he would much rather im-"pose upon himself, than upon his subjects; and "that if all men would follow his example in re-"trenching their expenses, (which possibly they "might do with much more convenience than he "could do his,) the kingdom would in short time "gain what they had given him that day." He told them, "he was very glad that they were going "into their several countries, where their presence "would do much good: and he hoped their vigi-

The king's speech at the prorogation of the parliament.

" lance and authority would prevent those disturb- 1663.
" ances, which the restless spirits of ill and unquiet
" men would be always contriving, and of which his
" majesty did assure them they promised themselves
" some effects that summer. And that there had
" been more pains and unusual ways taken to kindle
" the old fatal fears and jealousies, than he thought
" he should ever have lived to have seen, at least to
" have seen so countenanced."

He told them, " that he had expected to have had
" some bills presented to him against the several dis-
" tempers in religion, against seditious conventicles,
" and against the growth of popery: but that it
" might be they had been in some fear of reconciling
" those contradictions in religion into some conspi-
" racy against the public peace, to which himself
" doubted men of the most contrary motives in con-
" science were inclinable enough. He did promise
" them that he would lay that business to heart,
" and the mischiefs which might flow from those li-
" censes; and if he lived to meet with them again,
" as he hoped he should, he would himself take care
" to present two bills to them to that end. And
" that, as he had already given it in charge to the
" judges, in their several circuits, to use their utmost
" endeavours to prevent and punish the scandalous
" and seditious meetings of sectaries, and to convict
" the papists; so he would be as watchful, and take
" all the pains he could, that neither the one or the
" other should disturb the peace of the kingdom."
And adding many gracious expressions of his esteem and confidence in their affections, he caused them to be prorogued towards the end of March, which would be the beginning of the year 1664.

1663. The king had an intention at that time to have prepared against the next meeting two such bills as he mentioned to them, and was well enough content that the parliament had not presented such to him, which he well foresaw would not have been such as he should have been pleased with. He would have liked the most rigorous acts against all the other factions in religion, but did not think the papists had deserved the same severities, which would have been provided against them with the other, it being very apparent, that the kingdom generally had resumed their old jealousies of them, provoked by the very unwary behaviour of that people, who bragged of more credit in the court than they could justify, though most men thought they had too much: and that was the reason that he had commanded the chancellor to require the judges, who were then beginning their circuits, to cause the Roman catholics to be convicted, which he believed would allay much of the jealousies in the country, as for the present it did. And then he resolved to cause two such bills to be prepared for several reasons, of which the principal was, that he might divide them into two bills; presuming that when he had sent one against either, they would not affect reducing both into one, which was that which the catholic party most apprehended.

The king intends to prepare two bills against the papists and sectaries.

His majesty was himself very unsatisfied with the imprudent carriage of the catholics, and thought they did affect too much to appear as if they stood upon the level with all other subjects: and he received very particular and unquestionable information, that some priests had made it an argument to some whom they endeavoured to make their prose-

Imprudent behaviour of the papists.

lytes, "that the king was of their religion in his "heart, and would shortly declare it to all the world;" with which his majesty was marvellously offended, and did heartily desire that any of those indiscreet persons might be proceeded against with severity. Yet he had no mind that any man should be put to death, which could hardly be avoided if any man should be brought to trial in the case aforesaid, except he had granted his pardon, which with these circumstances would have carried scandal in it. Besides, he did think the wisest of that party had not carried themselves with modesty enough, with what was good for themselves and for his majesty's honour. And therefore he had, without imparting it to any friends of theirs, given that direction to the judges for convicting them, as the best means to reclaim them to a better temper: and he had a purpose, that the bill he meant should be prepared should more effectually perform that part, without exposing them to any notable inconveniences in their persons or their fortunes, if they behaved themselves well and warily. 1663.

The king designs to have the papists convicted.

He did believe, that it was necessary for his service that they should be all convicted, that it might be evident to himself what their numbers consisted of and amounted to, which he believed would be found much inferior to what they were generally computed, and then the danger from their power would not be thought so formidable: and it could be no prejudice to them without a further proceeding upon their conviction, which he was resolved to restrain, as he well might, and had done hitherto; resolving within himself, that no man should suffer under those penal laws which had been made against

1663. them in the age before, if they lived like good subjects, and administered no occasion of scandal. And as he was not reserved in declaring that his gracious purpose towards them, (as hath been said before;) so hitherto it had not been attended by any murmurs: and yet he was not without a purpose of keeping such a power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him.

His majesty did, in his judgment and inclination, put a great difference between those Roman catholics, who being of ancient extraction had continued of the same religion from father to son, without having ever been protestant, amongst whom there were very few who had not behaved themselves very worthily; and those, who since the late troubles had apostatized from the church of England to that of the Roman, without any such evidence of conscience, as might not administer just reason to suspect, that their inducements had been from worldly temptations. And he did resolve in his bill to make a distinction between those classes, and to prevent, or at least to discourage, those lapses which fell out too frequently in the court; nor did men believe that they need make any apology for it, but appeared the more confidently in all places. He did resolve likewise to contract and lessen the number of the ecclesiastical persons, who upon missions resorted hither as to an infidel nation, (which was and is a grievance that the catholics would be glad to be eased in,) and to reduce them into such an order and method by this bill, that he might himself know the names of all priests remaining in the kingdom, and their several stations where they resided; which must have produced such a security to those

who stayed, and to those with whom they stayed, as would have set them free from any apprehension of any penalties imposed by preceding parliaments. 1663.

But this design (which comprehended many other particulars) vanished as soon as it was discovered. The king's own discourse of a bill that he would cause to be drawn against the Roman catholics awakened great jealousies; nor did they want instruments or opportunities to discover what the meaning of it could be. Nor was the king reserved in the argument, but communicated it with those who he knew were well affected to that party, and to one or two of themselves who were reputed to be moderate men, and to desire nothing but the exercise of their religion with the greatest secrecy and caution, and who often informed him and complained "of the folly and vanity of some of their "friends, and more particularly of the presumption "of the Jesuits." And such kind of factions and divisions there are amongst them, which might be cultivated to very happy productions: but such ingenuity, as to be contented with what might gratify all their own pretences, there is not amongst them. Measures taken to frustrate his design.

These moderate men complained already, "that "the king was deceived by their enemy the chan-"cellor," who indeed was generally very odious to them, for no other reason, but because they knew he was irreconcileable to their profession; not that they thought he desired that the laws should be put in execution against them; and some of the chief of them believed him to be much their friend, and had obligations to him. But they all lamented this direction given to the judges for their conviction, "which," they informed the king, "was the necessary

1663. "preamble to the highest persecution the law had "prepared against them. That till they were con- "victed they were in the same predicament with "the rest of his subjects; but as soon as they were "convicted," (which the judges now caused to be prosecuted throughout the kingdom,) "they were "liable to all the other penalties, which his majesty "was inclined to protect them from." They presented to him a short memorial of the disadvantages which were consequent to a conviction, in which they alleged some particulars which were not clear in the law, at least had never been practised in the severest times.

Though the king had well weighed all he had done before he did it, and well knew, after all their insinuations and allegations, that none of those inconveniences could ensue to them, if he restrained any further prosecution, which he always had intended to do; yet they wrought so far upon him, that he was even sorry that he had proceeded so far: and though it was not fit to revoke any part of it, yet he cared not how little it was advanced. And for the bill he meant to present in the next session, they said, "all their security and quiet they had en- "joyed since his majesty's happy return depended "wholly upon the general opinion, that he had fa- "vour for them, and satisfaction in their duty and "obedience as good subjects, and their readiness to "do him any service, which they would all make "good with their lives and all that they had. But "if he should now discover any jealousy of their "fidelities, and that there was need of a new law "against them, which his purpose of providing a bill "implied, what mitigation soever his majesty in-

" tended in it, it would not be in his majesty's power 1663.
" to restrain the passion of other men; but all those
" animosities which had been hitherto covered and
" concealed, as grateful to him, would upon this oc-
" casion break out to their destruction: and there-
" fore they hoped, that whatever bitterness the par-
" liament might express against them when they
" came together, they should receive no invitation
" or encouragement by any jealousy or displeasure
" his majesty should manifest to have towards
" them."

These and the like arguments, or the credit of those who urged them, made that impression, that he declined any further thought of that bill; nor was there ever after mention of it. The catholics grew bolder in all places, and conversant in those rooms of the court into which the king's chaplains never presumed to enter; and to crown all their hopes, the lady declared herself of that faith, and inveighed sharply against the church she had been bred in. The king gives over his purpose.

During the interval of the parliament, there was not such a vacation from trouble and anxiety as was expected. The domestic unquietness in the court made every day more noise abroad: infinite scandals and calumnies were scattered amongst the people; and they expressed their discontents upon the great taxes and impositions which they were compelled to pay, and publicly reproached the parliament; when they were in truth vexed and grieved at heart for that which they durst not avow, and did really believe that God was angry with the nation, and resolved to exercise it under greater tribulation than he had so lately freed them from. The general want of money was complained of, and Discontents in the country.

1663. a great decay of trade; so that the native commodities of the kingdom were not transported. Yet both these were but pretences, and resulted from combinations rather than from reason. For it appeared by the customs, that the trade was greater than it had ever been, though some of our native commodities, especially cloth, seemed for some time to be at a stand; which proceeded rather from the present glut, which in the general license the interlopers had irregularly transported in great quantities, by which the prices were brought low, and could only be recovered by a restraint for some time, which the merchant adventurers put upon themselves, and would have put upon the interlopers, who were at last too hard for them, even upon the matter to the suppressing the company, that had stood in great reputation for very many years, and had advanced that manufacture to a great height; and whether it deserved that discountenance, time must decide. How unreasonable the other discourse was of want of money, there needs no other argument, but the great purchases which were every day made of great estates; nor was any considerable parcel of land in any part of England offered to be sold, but there was a purchaser at hand ready to buy it.

However, these pretences, together with the sudden bringing up all the money, that was collected for the king, in specie to London, which proceeded from the bankers' advancing so much present money for the emergent occasions, for which they had those assignments upon the money of the country, did really produce such a sudden fall of the rents throughout the kingdom, as had never been known before: so that men were compelled to abate gene-

A sudden fall of rents.

rally a fourth part of their annual rents at the least, or to take their lands into their own hands, for which they were as ill provided. All this mischief fell upon the nobility and greatest gentry, who were owners of the greatest estates, every body whose estate lay in land undergoing a share in the suffering, which made the discontent general; which they thought the best way [h] to remedy would be to raise no more taxes, which they took to be the cause why the rents fell. In the mean time the expenses of the court, and of all who depended upon it, grew still higher, and the king himself less intent upon his business, and more loved his pleasures, to which he prescribed no limits, nor to the expenses which could not but accompany them. 1663.

There was cause enough to be jealous of the public peace; there being every day discoveries made of private meetings and conferences between officers of the old army; and that correspondences were settled between them throughout the kingdom in a wonderful method; and that they had a grand committee residing in London, who had the supreme power, and which sent orders to all the rest, who were to rise in one day, and meet at several rendezvouses. Hereupon several persons were apprehended and committed to prison; and the king himself often took the pains to examine them; and they confessed commonly more to his majesty himself than upon any other examination. Proclamations issued often for the banishing all officers who had ever borne arms against the king twenty miles from London, which did more publish the apprehension of new troubles. Danger of an insurrection.

[h] way] *Omitted in MS.*

1663. There can be no doubt, but that there were many seditious purposes amongst that people, of which there often appeared so full evidence, that many were executed for high treason, who were tried and condemned by the judges at their[i] general sessions at Newgate: yet there was often cause to believe that many men were committed, who in truth had not been more faulty, than in keeping ill company and in hearing idle discourses. Informing was grown a trade, which many affected to get money by: and as the king's ministers could not reject in a time of so much jealousy, so the receiving them gave them great trouble; for few of them were willing to be produced as evidence against those they accused, pretending, sometimes with reason, "that "if they were known they should be rendered use- "less for the future, whereas they were yet unsus- "pected and admitted into all councils." All the sects in religion spake with more boldness in their meetings, and met more frequently, than they had used to do in the times that sir Richard Browne and sir John Robinson had been lord mayors; and the officers who succeeded them proved less vigilant. A general despondency seemed to possess the minds of men, as if they little cared what came to pass; which did not proceed so much from malice, as from the disease of murmuring, which had been contracting above twenty years, and became almost incorporated into the nature of the nation.

An intrigue in the court to advance sir H. Bennet.

There happened about this time an alteration in the court, that produced afterwards many other alterations which were not then suspected, yet even at

[i] their] the

that time was not liked in the court itself, and less out of it. The keeper of the privy purse, who was more fit for that province than for any other to which he could be applied, did not think himself yet preferred to a station worthy of his merit and great qualifications. Some promises the king had made to him when he was at Fuentarabia, and had long much kindness for his person and much delight in his company: so that his friend, Mr. O'Neile, who was still ready to put his majesty in mind of all his services, had nothing hard to do but to find a vacancy that might give opportunity for his advancement; and he was dexterous in making opportunities which he could not find, and made no scruple to insinuate to the king, "that the abilities of neither "of his secretaries were so great but that he might "be better served." Indeed his majesty, who did not naturally love old men, had not so much esteem of them as their parts and industry and integrity deserved, and would not have been sorry if either or both of them had died. 1663.

Character of secretary Nicholas.

Secretary Nicholas had served the crown very many years with a very good acceptation, was made secretary of state by the late king, and loved and trusted by him in his nearest concernments to his death: nor had any man, who served him, a more general reputation of virtue and piety and unquestionable integrity throughout the kingdom. He was a man to whom the rebels had been always irreconcileable; and from the end of the war lived in banishment beyond the seas, was with his majesty from the time he left France (for whilst the king was in France with his mother, to whom the secretary was not gracious, he remained at a distance;

1663. but from the time that his majesty came into Germany he was always with him) in the exercise of the same function he had under his father, and returned into England with him, with hope to repair his fortune by the just perquisites of his office, which had been very much impaired by his long sufferings and banishment. He had never been in his youth a man of quick and sudden parts, but full of industry and application, (which it may be is the better composition,) and always versed in business and all the forms of despatch. He was now some years above seventy, yet truly performed his office with punctuality, and to the satisfaction of all men who repaired to him: and the king thought it an envious as well as an ill-natured thing, to discharge such an officer because he had [k] lived too long.

Of secretary Morrice.

The other secretary was secretary Morrice, whose merit had been his having transacted all that had been between the king and the general, which was thought to be much more than it was. Yet he had behaved himself very well, and as much disposed the general as he was capable of being disposed; and his majesty had preferred him to that office purely to gratify and oblige the general; and he had behaved himself very honestly and diligently in the king's service, and had a good reputation in the house of commons, and did the business of his office without reproach. He had lived most part of his time in the country, with the repute of a wise man and a very good scholar, as indeed he was both in the Latin and Greek learning; but being without any knowledge in the modern languages, he gave

[k] had] *Omitted in MS.*

the king often occasion to laugh at his unskilful pronunciation of many words. In the Latin despatches, which concern all the northern parts, he was ready, and treated with those ambassadors fluently and elegantly; and for all domestic affairs no man doubted his sufficiency, except in the garb and mode and humour of the court. 1663.

And the inducement that brought him in made it unfit to remove him, lest it might grieve the general, whose friend and kinsman he was: so that there was no expedient to provide for sir Harry Bennet, but by removing secretary Nicholas by his own consent; for the king would not do it otherwise to so old and faithful a servant. And his majesty was the more inclined to it, because it would give him the opportunity to bring another person into the office of the privy purse, of whom he was lately grown very fond, and towards whom he had, when he came into England, a greater aversion than to any gentleman who had been abroad with him; and that was sir Charles Berkley, who was then captain of the duke of York's guard, and much in the good grace of his royal highness.

Whilst this intrigue was contriving and depending, great care was taken that it might not come to the notice of the chancellor, lest if he could not divert the king from desiring it, which they believed he would not attempt, he might dissuade his old friend the secretary, with whom he had held a long and particular friendship, from hearkening to any proposition, or accepting[1] any composition; which they believed not unreasonably that the other would

[1] accepting] to accept

1663. be very solicitous in, as well to keep a man in, whom he could entirely trust, as to keep another out, of whose abilities he had no esteem, and in whose affection he had no confidence: and it was thought by many, that the same apprehension prevailed with the good old man himself to cherish the secrecy.. Certain it is, that the whole matter was resolved and consented to, before ever the chancellor had a suspicion of it.

O'Neile, who had always the skill to bring that to pass by others which he could not barefaced appear in himself, insinuated to Mr. Ashburnham, who pretended, and I think had, much friendship for the secretary, "that the king thought the secretary too "old to take so much pains, and often wished that "his friends would persuade him to retire, that "there might be a younger man in the office, who "could attend upon his majesty at all hours and in "all journeys; but that his majesty always spake "kindly of him, and as if he resolved to give him "an ample recompense:" and in confidence told him, "that the king had an impatient desire to "have sir Harry Bennet secretary of state." Ashburnham was well versed in the artifices of court too; and thought he might very well perform the office of a friend to his old confident, and at the same time find a new and more useful friend for himself, by having a hand in procuring a large satisfaction for the old, and likewise facilitating the way for the introduction of a new secretary, who could not forget the obligation. So he told O'Neile, "that "all the world knew that he had for many years pro-"fessed a great friendship for secretary Nicholas," (they had been both servants at the same time to

the duke of Buckingham, when he was killed,) "and 1663.
"that he should be much troubled to see him dis-
"placed in his old age with contempt; but if his
"majesty would dismiss him with honour and re-
"ward, that he might be able to provide for his wife
"and children, he would make no scruple to per-
"suade him to quit his employment." O'Neile had all he looked for, and only enjoined him secrecy, "that it might not come to the king's ear that he "had communicated this secret to any man; and "he did presume, that before any resolution was "taken in it, his majesty would speak of it to the "chancellor."

Within a day or two the king sent for Ashburnham, and told him "he knew he was a friend to "the secretary, who was now grown old, and not "able to take the pains he had done; that he had "served his father and himself very faithfully, and "had spent his fortune in his service; that if he "were willing to retire, for without his consent he "would do nothing, he would give him ten thou-"sand pounds, or any other recompense he should "choose," implying a title of honour: but intimated, though he referred all to his own will, "that he "wished, and that it would be acceptable to him, "that the office might be vacant and at his ma-"jesty's disposal."

He undertook the employment very cheerfully, and quickly imparted all that had passed from the king, and all that he knew before, to the secretary; who was not fond of the court, and thought he had lived long enough there, having seen and observed much that he was grieved at heart to see. He considered, that though this message was very gracious,

1663. and offered a noble reward for his service, it did withal appear that the king did desire he should be gone; and having designed a successor to him, who had already much credit with him, if he should seem sullen or unwilling, he might in a short time be put out without any consideration, or at most with the promise of one. Thereupon he wished his friend "to assure the king, that he would very "readily do whatsoever his majesty thought neces-"sary for his service; but he hoped, that after "above forty years spent in the service of the crown, "he should not be exposed to disgrace and con-"tempt. That he had a wife and children, who "had all suffered with him in exile till his majesty's "return, and for whom he could not make a com-"petent provision without his majesty's bounty; "and therefore he hoped, that before his majesty "required the signet, he would cause the recom-"pense he designed to be more than what he had "mentioned, and to be first paid."

Secretary Nicholas resigns.

This province could not be put into a fitter hand, for it was managed with notable skill. And as soon as it was known that the secretary would willingly resign, which was feared, and that only a better recompense was expected, every body was willing that the king should make[m] the act look as graciously as might be, that the successor might be attended with the less envy. And Mr. Ashburnham cultivated their impatience so skilfully, that it cost the king, in present money and land or lease, very little less than twenty thousand pounds, to bring in a servant whom very few cared for, in the place of

[m] make] *Omitted in MS.*

an old servant whom every body loved: and he received all that was promised, before he resigned his place. And if the change had been as good for the king, as it was for the good old secretary, every body would have been glad. And thus sir Harry Bennet was at the king's charge accommodated, even to the satisfaction of his own ambition: and his majesty was as well pleased, that he had gotten sir Charles Berkley into the other office about his person, whom he every day loved with more passion, for what reason no man knew nor could imagine. 1663.

Sir H. Bennet made secretary of state, and sir Charles Berkley privy purse.

And from this time they who stood at any near distance could not but discern, that the chancellor's interest and credit with the king manifestly declined: not that either of these two pretended to be his rival, or appeared to cross any thing in council that he proposed or advised; on the contrary, they both professed great respect towards him. One of them, being no privy counsellor, made great professions and addresses to him by himself, and by some friends who had much credit with him; protested "against "meddling at all in business, and that he only hoped "to gain a fortune by his majesty's favour, upon "which he might be able to live;" nor did it appear afterwards, that he did to his death wish that the chancellor's power should be lessened: and the other made all the professions imaginable of affection and respect to him, and repaired upon occasions to him for advice and for direction. Nor in truth could either of them have done him any prejudice at that time with the king by pretending to do it; but by pretending the contrary by degrees got power to do it.

The chancellor's interest declines.

His majesty did not in the least degree withdraw

1663. his favour from him, heard him as willingly, came as often to him, was as little reserved in any thing; only in one particular he did with some solemnity conjure him never to mention it to him again, in which he did not yet punctually obey him, nor avoid seasonably saying any thing to him which he believed to be his duty, and which his majesty never seemed to take ill. And whenever he spake to him of either of the other two gentlemen, which he frequently did with much kindness, he always added somewhat of both their respects and esteem for him, as a thing that pleased him well; and said once, "that it concerned them, for whenever he should "discern it to be otherwise, he should make them "repent it." Yet notwithstanding all this, from that time counsels were not so secret, and greater liberty was[n] taken to talk of the public affairs in the evening conversation, than had been before, when they happened sometimes to be shortly mentioned in the production of some wit or jest; but now they were often taken into debate, and censured with too much liberty with reference to things and persons; and the king himself was less fixed and more irresolute in his counsels; and inconvenient grants came every day to the seal for the benefit of particular persons, against which the king had particularly resolved, and at last by importunity would have passed. Lastly, both these persons were most devoted to the lady, and much depended upon her interest, and consequently were ready to do any thing that would be grateful to her.

The king still continues his favour to him.

There was another mischief contrived about this

[n] was] *Not in MS.*

time, that had a much worse influence upon the public, except we shall call it the same, because it did in truth proceed from it. Though the public state of affairs, in respect of the distempers and discomposures which are mentioned before, and that the expenses exceeded what was assigned to support it, whereby the great debt was little diminished, yielded little delight to those who were most trusted to manage and provide for them, and who had a melancholic and dreadful apprehension of consequences: yet whilst the nation continued in peace, and without any danger from any foreign enemy, the [o] prospect was so pleasant, especially to those who stood at a distance, that they saw nothing worthy of any man's fear; and there was reasonable hope, that the expenses might every year be reduced within reasonable bounds [p]. But all that hope vanished, when there appeared an immoderate desire to engage the nation in a war. 1663.

The first rise of the Dutch war.

Upon the king's first arrival in England, he manifested a very great desire to improve the general traffick and trade of the kingdom, and upon all occasions conferred with the most active merchants upon it, and offered all that he could contribute to the advancement thereof. He erected a council of trade, which produced little other effect than the opportunity of men's speaking together, which possibly disposed them to think more, and to consult more effectually in private, than they could in such a crowd of commissioners. Some merchants and seamen made a proposition by Mr. William Coventry and some few others to the duke of York, "for the

[o] the] that the

[p] bounds] hopes

1663. "erection of a company in which they desired his "royal highness to preside," (and from thence it was called the Royal Company,) "to which his ma- "jesty should grant the sole trade of Guinea, which "in a short time they presumed would bring great "advantage to the public, and much profit to the "adventurers, who should begin upon a joint stock, "to be managed by a council of such as should be "chosen out of the adventurers."

The erection of the royal African company.

This privilege had before the troubles been[q] granted by the late king to sir Nicholas Crisp and others named by him, who had at their own charge sent ships thither: and sir Nicholas had at his own charge bought a nook of ground, that lay into the sea, of the true owners thereof, (all that coast being inhabited by heathens,) and built thereon a good fort and warehouses, under which the ships lay; and he had advanced this trade so far before the troubles, that he found it might be carried on with very great benefit. After the rebellion began, and sir Nicholas betook himself to serve the king, some merchants continued the trade, and either by his consent or Cromwell's power had the possession of that fort, called Cormantine; which was still in the possession of the English when his majesty returned, though the trade was small, in respect the Dutch had fixed a stronger quarter at no great distance from it, and sent much more ships and commodities thither, and returned once[r] every year to their own country with much wealth. The chief end of this trade was, besides the putting off great quantities of our own manufactures according as the trade should advance, to

[q] been] *Omitted in MS.* [r] once] one

return with gold, which that coast produced in good quantity, and with slaves, blacks, which were readily sold to any plantation at great prices. 1663.

The model was so well prepared, and the whole method for governing the trade so rationally proposed, that the duke was much pleased with it, and quickly procured a charter to be granted from the king to this company with ample privileges, and his majesty himself to become an adventurer, and, which was more, to assist them for the first establishment of their trade with the use of some of his own ships. The duke was the governor of the company, with power to make a deputy: all the other officers and council were chosen by the company, which consisted of persons of honour and quality, every one of which brought in five hundred pounds for the first joint stock, with which they set out the first ships; upon the return whereof they received so much encouragement and benefit, that they compounded with sir Nicholas Crisp for his propriety in the fort and castle; and possessed themselves of another place upon the coast, and sent many ships thither, which made very good returns, by putting off their blacks at the Barbadoes and other the king's plantations at their own prices, and brought home such store of gold that administered the first occasion for the coinage of those pieces, which from thence had the denomination of *guineas;* and what was afterwards made of the same species, was coined of the gold that was brought from that coast by the royal company. In a word, if that company be not broken or disordered by the jealousy that the gentlemen adventurers have of the merchants, and their opinion that they under-

A charter granted to it.

1663. stand the mysteries of trade as well as the other, by which they refuse to concur in the necessary expedients proposed by the other, and interpose unskilful overtures of their own with pertinacy, it will be found a model equally to advance the trade of England with that of any other company, even that of the East Indies.

From the first entrance into this trade, which the duke was exceedingly disposed to advance, and was constantly present himself at all councils, which were held once a week in his own lodgings at Whitehall, it was easily discovered that the Dutch had a better trade there than the English, which they were then willing to believe that they had no right to, for that the trade was first found out and settled there by the English; which was a sufficient foundation to settle it upon this nation, and to exclude all others, at least by the same law that the Spaniard enjoys the West Indies, and the Dutch what they or the Portuguese possessed in the East. But this they quickly found would not establish such a title as would bear a dispute: the having sent a ship or two thither, and built a little fort, could not be allowed such a possession as would exclude all other nations. And the truth was, the Dutch were there some time before us, and the Dane before either: and the Dutch, which was the true grievance, had planted themselves more advantageously, upon the bank of a river, than we had done; and by the erection of more forts were more strongly seated, and drove a much greater trade, which they did not believe they would be persuaded to quit. This drew the discourse from the right to the easiness, by the assistance of two or three of the king's ships, to

The merchants desirous of a war with the Dutch.

take away all that the Dutch possessed in and about Guinea, there having never been a ship of war seen in those parts; so that the work might be presently done, and such an alliance made with the natives, who did not love the Dutch, that the English might[s] be unquestionably possessed of the whole trade of that country, which would be of inestimable profit to the kingdom. 1663.

The merchants took much delight to enlarge themselves upon this argument, and shortly after to discourse "of the infinite benefit that would accrue "from a barefaced war against the Dutch, how easily "they might be subdued, and the trade carried by "the English. That Cromwell had always beaten "them, and thereby gotten the greatest glory he "had, and brought them upon their knees; and "could totally have subdued them, if he had not "thought it more for his interest to have such a "second, whereby he might the better support his "usurpation against the king. And therefore, after "they had consented to all the infamous conditions "of the total abandoning his majesty, and as far as "in them lay to the extirpation of all the royal fa-"mily, and to a perpetual exclusion of the prince of "Orange, he made a firm peace with them; which "they had not yet performed, by their retaining "still the island of Poleroone, which they had so "long since barbarously taken from the English, "and which they had expressly promised and un-"dertaken to deliver in the last treaty, after Crom-"well had compelled them to pay a great sum of "money for the damages which the English had

[s] might] may

1663. "sustained at Amboyna, when all the demands and "threats from king James could never procure any "satisfaction for that foul action."

The duke of York much for it.

These discourses, often reiterated in season and out of season, made a very deep impression in the duke; who having been even from his childhood in the command in armies, and in his nature inclined to the most difficult and dangerous enterprises, was already weary of having so little to do, and too impatiently longed for any war, in which he knew he could not but have the chief command. But these kind of debates, or[t] the place in which they were made, could contribute little to an affair of so huge an importance, otherwise[u] than by inciting the duke, which they did too much, to consider and affect it, and to dispose others who were near him to inculcate the same thoughts into him, as an argument in which his honour would be much exalted in the eye of all the world: and to these[x] good offices they were enough disposed by the restlessness and unquietness of their own natures, and by many other motives for the accomplishing their own designs, and getting more power into their own hands.

But there was lately, very lately, a peace fully concluded with the States General upon the same terms, articles, and conditions, which they had formerly yielded to Cromwell, being very much more advantageous than they had ever granted in any treaty to the crown. And at the time of the conclusion of the peace, they delivered their orders from the States General and their East India com-

[t] or] nor [u] otherwise] other [x] these] the

pany for the delivery of the island of Poleroone to the English, which[y] Cromwell himself had extorted from them with the greatest difficulty: so that there was now no colour of justice to make a war upon them. Besides that there were at present great jealousies from Spain upon the marriage with Portugal; nor did France, which had broken promise in making a treaty with Holland, make any haste to renew the treaty with England. And therefore it could not but seem strange to all men, that when we had only made a treaty of peace with Holland, and that so newly, and upon so long consideration, and had none with either of the crowns, we should so much desire to enter into a war with them. 1663.

However, the duke's heart was set upon it, and he loved to speak of it, and the benefits which would attend it. He spake of it to the king, whom he found no ways inclined to it, and therefore he knew it was unfit to propose it in council: yet he spake often of it to such of the lords of whom he had the best opinion, and found many of them to concur with him in the opinion of the advantages which might arise from thence. And sometimes he thought he left the king disposed to it, by an argument which he found prevailed with many: "that the "differences and jealousies in point of trade, which "did every day fall out and would every day in- "crease between the English and the Dutch, who "had in the late distractions gotten great advan- "tages, would unavoidably produce a war between "them; and then that the question only was, whe- The king not inclined to it.

[y] which] and which

1663. "ther it were not better for us to begin it now,
"when they do not expect it, and we are better
"prepared for it than probably we shall be then;
"or to stay two or three years, in which the same
"jealousy would provoke them to be well provided,
"when probably we might not be ready. That we
"had the best sea officers in the world, many of
"whom had often beaten the Dutch, and knew how
"to do it again; and a multitude of excellent mari-
"ners and common seamen: all which, if they
"found that nothing would be done at home, would
"disperse themselves in merchant voyages to the
"Indies and the Straits; and probably so many
"good men would never be found together again."

And with such arguments he many times thought that he left the king much moved: but when he spake to him again (though he knew that he had no kindness for the Dutch) his majesty was changed, and very averse to a war; which he imputed to the chancellor, who had not dissembled, as often as his highness spake to him, to be passionately and obstinately against it. And he did take all the opportunities he could find to confirm the king in his aversion to it, who was in his heart averse from it, by presenting to him the state of his own affairs, "the great debt that yet lay upon him, which with "peace and good husbandry might be in some time "paid; but a war would involve him in so much "greater, that no man could see the end of it." That "he would be able to preserve himself against the "factions and distempers in his own kingdom, and "probably suppress them, if he were without a fo-"reign enemy: but if he should be engaged in a "war abroad, his domestic divisions, especially those

The chancellor opposes it.

" in religion, would give him more trouble than he 1663.
" could well struggle withal.

" That it was an erroneous assumption, that the
" Dutch would be better provided for a war two or
" three years hence, and his majesty worse, for
" which there was no reason. That within that
" time it would be his own fault, if the distempers
" in his three kingdoms were not composed, which
" would make him much fitter for a war; whereas
" now neither of them could be said to be in peace,
" that of Ireland being totally unsettled, and that of
" Scotland not yet well pleased, and England far
" from it. That in that time it was very probable
" that the two crowns would be again engaged in a
" war; since it was generally believed, and with
" great reason, that France only expected the death
" of the king of Spain, who was very infirm, and
" meant then to fall into Flanders, having at the
" same time with great expense provided great ma-
" gazines of corn and hay upon the borders, which
" could be for no other end. That whilst he conti-
" nued in peace, his friendship would be valuable to
" all the princes of Europe, and the two crowns
" would strive who should gain him: but if he en-
" gaged in a war, and in such a war as that with[z]
" Holland, which would interrupt and disturb all
" the trade of the kingdom, upon which the greatest
" part of his revenue did rise; all other princes
" would look on, and not much esteem any offices
" he could perform to them. And lastly, that a
" little time might possibly administer a just occa-
" sion of a war, which at present there was not."

[z] that with] *Not in MS.*

1663. These, and better arguments which the king's own understanding suggested to him, made him fully resolve against the war, and to endeavour to change his brother from affecting it, which wrought not at all upon him; but finding that many things fell from the king in the argument, which had been alleged to himself by the chancellor, he concluded the mischief came from him, and was displeased accordingly; and complained to his wife, "that her fa-
The duke offended with him for it.
"ther should oppose him in an affair upon which he "knew his heart was so much set, and of which "every body took so much notice;" which troubled her very much. And she very earnestly desired her father, "that he would no more oppose the duke in "that matter." He answered her, "that she did "not enough understand the consequence of that "affair; but that he would take notice to the duke "of what she had said, and give him the best an-"swer he could." And accordingly he waited upon the duke, who very frankly confessed to him, "that "he took it very unkindly, that he should so posi-"tively endeavour to cross a design so honourable "in itself, and[a] so much desired by the city of Lon-"don; and he was confident it[b] would be very "grateful to the parliament, and that they would "supply the king with money enough to carry it "on, which would answer the chief objection. That "he was engaged to pursue it, and he could not but "be sorry and displeased, that every body should "see how little credit he had with him."

The chancellor satisfies the duke.
The chancellor told him, "that he had no appre-"hension that any sober man in England, or his

[a] and] *Not in MS.* [b] it] *Not in MS.*

"highness himself, should believe that he could 1663.
"fail in his duty to him, or that he would omit
"any opportunity to make it manifest, which he
"could never do without being a fool or a madman.
"On the other hand, he could never give an advice,
"or consent to it whoever gave it, which in his
"judgment and conscience would be very mischiev-
"ous to the crown and to the kingdom, though his
"royal highness or the king himself were inclined
"to it." He did assure him, "that he found the
"king very averse from any thought of this war, be-
"fore he ever discovered his own opinion of it;"
but denied not, "that he had taken all opportuni-
"ties to confirm him in that judgment by argu-
"ments that he thought could not be answered;
"and that the consequence of that war would be
"very pernicious. That he did presume that many
"good men, with whom he had conferred, did seem
"to concur with his highness out of duty to him,
"and as they saw it would be grateful to him, or
"upon a sudden, and without making those reflec-
"tions which would afterwards occur to them, and
"make them change their minds. That a few mer-
"chants, nor all the merchants in London, were
"not[c] the city of London, which had had war
"enough, and could only become rich by peace.
"That he did not think the parliament would be
"forward to encourage that war; nor should the
"king be desirous that they should interpose their
"advice in it, since it was a subject entirely in the
"king's own determination: but if they should ap-
"pear never so forward in it, he was old enough to

[c] not] *Omitted in MS.*

1663. "remember when a parliament did advise, and upon "the matter compel, his grandfather king James to "enter into a war with Spain, upon promise of "ample supplies; and yet when he was engaged in "it, they gave him no more supply; so that at last "the crown was compelled to accept of a peace not "very honourable."

Beside the arguments he had used to the king, he besought his highness to reflect upon some others more immediately relating to himself, "upon the "want of able men to conduct the counsels upon "which such a war must be carried on; how few "accidents might expose the crown to those dis-"tresses, that it might with more difficulty be "buoyed up than it had lately been;" with many other arguments, which he thought made some impression upon the duke. And for some months there was no more mention or discourse in the court of the war; though they who first laid the design still cultivated it, and made little doubt[d] of bringing it at last to pass.

The design for the present dropped.

The sale of Dunkirk.

At or about this time there was a transaction of great importance, which at the time was not popular nor indeed understood, and afterwards was objected against the chancellor in his misfortunes, as a principal argument of his infidelity and corruption; which was the sale of Dunkirk: the whole proceeding whereof shall be plainly and exactly related from the beginning to the end thereof.

The charge and expense the crown was at; the pay of the land forces and garrisons; the great fleets set out to sea for the reduction of the Turkish

[d] doubt] *Not in MS.*

pirates of Algiers and Tunis, and for guarding the narrow seas, and security of the merchants; the constant yearly charge of the garrison of Dunkirk, of that at Tangier, and the vast expense of building a mole there, for which there was an establishment, together with the garrisons at Bombayne and in Jamaica, (none of which had been known to the crown in former times;) and the lord treasurer's frequent representation of all this to the king, as so prodigious an expense as could never be supported; had put his majesty to frequent consultations how he might lessen and save any part of it. But no expedient could be resolved upon. The lord treasurer, who was most troubled when money was wanted, had many secret conferences with the general and with the best seamen, of the benefit that accrued to the crown by keeping of Dunkirk; the constant charge and expense whereof amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand pounds yearly: and he found by them that it was a place of little importance. It is true that he had conferred of it with the chancellor, with whom he held a fast friendship; but found him so averse from it, that he resolved to speak with him no more, till the king had taken some resolution. And to that purpose he persuaded the general to go with him to the king and to the duke of York, telling them both, "that the chancellor must know nothing of it:" and after several debates the king thought it so counsellable a thing, that he resolved to have it debated before that committee which he trusted in his most secret affairs; and the chancellor being then lame of the gout, he commanded that all those lords should attend him at his house. Beside his majesty

1663.

The chancellor against it.

1663. himself and the duke of York, there appeared the lord treasurer, the general, the earl of Sandwich, the vice-chamberlain sir George Carteret, who had been a great commander at sea, and the two secretaries of state. When the king entered the room with the lord treasurer, he desired his majesty, smiling, "that he would take the chancellor's staff "from him, otherwise he would break his head." When they were all sat, the king told him, "they "were all come to debate an affair that he knew "he was against, which was the parting with Dun- "kirk; but he did believe, when he had heard all "that was said for it and against it, he would "change his mind, as he himself had done." And so the debate was entered into in this method, after enough was said of the straits the crown was in, and what the yearly expense was.

The business referred to a committee.

Reasons urged for parting with it.

1. "That the profit which did or could accrue to "the kingdom by the keeping of Dunkirk was very "inconsiderable, whether in war or peace. That "by sea it was very little useful, it being no harbour, "nor having place for the king's ships to ride in "with safety; and that if it were in the hand of "an enemy, it could do us little prejudice, because "three or four ships might block it up, and keep it "from infesting its neighbours: and that though "heretofore it had been a place of license at sea, and "had much obstructed trade by their men of war, "yet that proceeded only from the unskilfulness of "that time in applying proper remedies to it; which "was manifest by Cromwell's blocking them up, "and restraining them when he made war upon "them, insomuch as all the men of war left that "place, and betook themselves to other harbours.

"That it was so weak to the land (notwithstanding 1663.
"the great charge his majesty had been at in the
"fortifications, which were not yet finished) by the
"situation and the soil, that it required as many
"men within to defend it, as the army should con-
"sist of that besieged it; otherwise that it could
"never hold out and endure a siege of two months:
"as it appeared clearly by its having been taken
"and retaken so many times within the late years,
"in all which times it never held out so long, though
"there was always an army at no great distance to
"relieve it.

2. "That the charge of keeping and maintaining
"it, without any accidents from the attempt of an
"enemy, did amount unto above one hundred and
"twenty thousand pounds by the year, which was
"a sum the revenue of the crown could not supply,
"without leaving many other particulars of much
"more importance unprovided for." And this was not lightly or cursorily urged; but the state of the revenue, and the constant and indispensable issues, were at the same time presented and carefully examined.

3. "It could not reasonably be believed, but that
"if Dunkirk was kept, his majesty would be shortly
"involved in a war with one of the two crowns.
"The Spanish ambassador had already demanded
"restitution of it in point of justice, it having been
"taken from his master by the late usurper, in a
"time when there was not only a peace between
"his majesty and the king of Spain, but when his
"majesty resided, and was entertained by the ca-
"tholic king, in Flanders: and at this time both
"France and Spain inhibited their subjects from

1663. "paying those small contributions to the garrison "at Dunkirk, and endeavoured to restrain the go- "vernor himself from enjoying some privileges, "which had been always enjoyed by him from the "time that it had been put into Cromwell's hands." And it was upon this and many other reasons then conceived, "that as it would be very hard for the "king to preserve a neutrality towards both crowns, "even during the time of the war between them," (which temper was thought very necessary for his majesty's affairs;) "so it would be much more diffi- "cult long to avoid a war with one of them upon "the keeping Dunkirk, if the peace that was newly "made should remain firm and unshaken."

The king resolves to dispose of it.

Upon these reasons, urged and agreed upon by those who could not but be thought very competent judges, in respect of their several professions and great experience, the king resolved to ease himself of the insupportable burden of maintaining Dunkirk, and to part with it in such a manner as might be most for his advantage and benefit. There remained then no other question, than into what hand to put it: and the measure of that was only who would give most money for it, there being no inclination to prefer one before another. It was enough understood; that both crowns would be very glad to have it, and would probably both make large offers for it.

Reasons for selling it to France.

But it was then as evident, that whatsoever France should contract for, the king would be sure to receive, and the business would be soon despatched: whereas on the other hand it was as notorious and evident to his majesty, and to all who had any knowledge of the court of Spain, and of the scarcity of money there and in Flanders; that how large of-

fers soever the Spaniard might make, they could not be able in any time to pay any considerable sum of money; and that there would be so much time spent in consult between Madrid and Brussels before it could be despatched, that the keeping it so long in his majesty's hands would in the expense disappoint him of a good part of the end in parting with it. Besides that it seemed at that time probable, that the Spaniard would shortly declare himself an enemy; for besides that he demanded Dunkirk as of right, so he likewise required the restitution of Tangier and Jamaica upon the same reason, and declared, "that without it there could be no "lasting peace between England and Spain," and refused so much as to enter upon a treaty of alliance with the king, before he should promise to make such a restitution. 1663.

There wanted not in this conference and debate the consideration of the States of the United Provinces, as persons like enough to desire the possession of Dunkirk, from whence they had formerly received so much damage, and were like enough to receive more whenever they should be engaged in any war: and if in truth they should have any such desire, more money might be reasonably required, and probably be obtained from them, than could be expected from either of the kings. But upon the discussion of that point, it did appear to every man's reason very manifest, that though they had rather that Dunkirk should be put into the hands of the Spaniard than delivered to France, or than it should be detained by the English; yet they durst not receive it into their own possession, which neither of the two crowns would have approved of, and so it

1563. would have exposed them to the displeasure, if not to the hostility, of both the kings.

Upon this full deliberation, his majesty inclined rather to give it up to France than to Spain; but deferred any positive resolution till he had imparted the whole matter to the council-board, where the debate was again resumed, principally, "whether it "were more counsellable to keep it at so vast a "charge, or to part with it for a good sum of money." And in that debate the mention of what had been heretofore done in the house of commons upon that subject was not omitted, nor the bill that they had sent up to the house of peers for annexing it inseparably to the crown: but that was not thought of moment; for as it had been suddenly entertained in the house of commons, upon the Spanish ambassador's first proposition for the restitution, so it was looked upon in the house of peers as unfit in itself, and so laid aside after once being read, (which had been in the first convention soon after the king's return,) and so expired as soon as it was born. After a long debate of the whole matter at the council-board, where all was averred concerning the uselessness and weakness of the place, by those who had said it at the committee; there was but one lord of the council who offered his advice to the king against parting with it: and the ground of that lord's dissenting, who was the earl of St. Alban's, was enough understood to have nothing of public in it, but to draw the negotiation for it into his own hands. In conclusion, his majesty resolved to put it into the hands of France, if that king would comply with his majesty's expectation in the payment of so much money as he would require for it:

The king refers it to the privy-council:

Where only one opposes it.

and a way was found out, that the king might pri- 1663.
vately be advertised of that his majesty's resolution, if he should have any desire to deal for it.

The advertisement was very welcome to the French king, who was then resolved to visit Flanders as soon as he should know of the death of the king of Spain, which was expected every day. Nor had he deferred it till then, upon the late affront his ambassador had received at London from the Spanish ambassador, (who by a contrived and laboured stratagem had got the precedence for his coach before the other; which the king of France received with that indignation, that he sent presently to demand justice at Madrid, commanded his ambassador to retire from thence, and would not suffer the Spanish ambassador to remain in Paris till he should have satisfaction, and was resolved to have begun a war upon it,) if the king of Spain had not acknowledged the fault of his ambassador, and under his hand declared the precedence to belong to France; which declaration was sent to the courts of all princes: and so for the present that spark of fire was extinguished, or rather raked up.

Monsieur D'Estrades comes over to treat about the price.

The king sent M. D'Estrades privately to London to treat about Dunkirk, without any character, but pretending to make it his way to Holland, whither he was designed ambassador. After he had waited upon the king, his majesty appointed four or five of the lords of his council, whereof the chancellor and treasurer and general were three, to treat with M. D'Estrades for the sale of Dunkirk; when the first conference was spent in endeavouring to persuade him to make the first offer for the price, which he could not be drawn to: so that the king's com-

1663. missioners were obliged to make their demand. And they asked the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be paid upon the delivery of Dunkirk and Mardike into the possession of the king of France; which sum appeared to him to be so stupendous, that he seemed to think the treaty at an end, and resolved to make no offer at all on the part of his master. And so the conference brake up.

At the next meeting he offered three millions of livres, which according to the common account amounted to three hundred thousand pistoles, which the king's commissioners as much undervalued; so that any further conference was discontinued, till he had sent an express or two into France, and till their return: for as the expectation of a great sum of ready money was the king's motive to part with it, besides the saving the monthly charge; so they concluded that his necessities would oblige him to part with it at a moderate price. And after the return of the expresses, the king's commissioners insisting still upon what D'Estrades thought too much, and he offering what they thought too little, the treaty seemed to be at an end, and he prepared for his return. In conclusion, his majesty being fully as desirous to part with it as the king of France could be to have it, it was agreed and concluded,

The price agreed upon.

" that upon the payment of five hundred thousand " pistoles in specie at Calais to such persons as the " king should appoint to receive it, his majesty's " garrison of Dunkirk and Mardike should be with- " drawn, and those places put into the hands of the " king of France:" all which was executed accordingly. And without doubt it was a greater sum of

money than was ever paid at one payment by any prince in Christendom, upon what occasion soever; and every body seemed very glad to see so vast a sum of money delivered into the Tower of London, as it was all together; the king at the same time declaring, "that no part of it should be applied to any or- "dinary occasion, but be preserved for some press- "ing accident, as an insurrection or the like," which was reasonably enough apprehended. 1663.

A vindication of the chancellor in this affair.

Nor was there[e] the least murmur at this bargain in all the sessions of the parliament which sat after, until it fell out to some men's purposes to reproach the chancellor: and then they charged him "with "advising the sale of Dunkirk, and that the very "artillery, ammunition, and stores amounted to "a greater value than the king received for the "whole;" when upon an estimate that had been taken[f] of all those, they were not esteemed to be more worth than twenty thousand pounds sterling; and the consideration of those, when the king's commissioners insisted upon their being all shipped for England, and the necessity of keeping them upon the place where they were, had prevailed with M. D'Estrades to consent to that sum of five hundred thousand pistoles. But whether the bargain was ill or well made, there could be no fault imputed to the chancellor, who had no more to do in the transaction than is before set down; the whole matter having been so long deliberated and so fully debated. Nor did he ever before, or in, or after the transaction, receive the value of half a crown for reward or present, or any other consideration relating

[e] there] *Omitted in MS.*

[f] taken] *Omitted in MS.*

1663. to that affair: and the treatment he received after his coming into France was evidence enough, that that king never thought himself beholden to him.

The queen mother brings a natural son of the king into England.

A little before this time, the queen mother returned again for England, having disbursed a great sum of money in making a noble addition to her palace of Somerset-house. With the queen there came over a youth of about ten or a dozen years of age, who was called by the name of Mr. Crofts, because the lord Crofts had been trusted to take care of his breeding; but he was generally thought to be the king's son, begotten upon a private Welch woman of no good fame, but handsome, who had transported herself to the Hague, when the king was first there, with a design to obtain that honour, which a groom of the bedchamber willingly preferred her to; and there it was this boy was born. The mother lived afterwards for some years in France in the king's sight, and at last lost his majesty's favour: yet the king desired to have the son delivered to him, that he might take care of his education, which she would not consent to. At last the lord Crofts got him into his charge; and the mother dying at Paris, he had the sole tuition of him, and took care for the breeding him suitable to the quality of a very good gentleman. And the queen after some years came to know of it, and frequently had him brought to her, and used him with much grace; and upon the king's desire brought him with her from Paris into England, when he was about twelve years of age; very handsome, and performed those exercises gracefully which youths of that age used to learn in France. The king received him with extraordinary fondness, and was willing that

every body should believe him to be his son, though 1663.
he did not yet make any declaration that he looked upon him as such, otherwise than by his kindness and familiarity towards him. He assigned a liberal maintenance for him; but took not that care for a strict breeding of him [g] as his age required.

The general, during the time of his command in Scotland, had acquaintance with a lady of much honour there, the countess of Weemes, who had been before the wife of the earl of Buccleugh, and by him had one only daughter, who inherited his very great estate and title, and was called the countess of Buccleugh, a child of eight or ten years of age. All men believed, that the general's purpose was to get this lady for his own son, a match [h] suitable enough: but the time being now changed, the lord Lauther-dale, being a good courtier, thought his countrywoman might be much better married, if she were given to the king for this youth, towards whom he expressed so much fondness, those kinds of extractions carrying little disadvantage with them in Scotland; and the general, whatever thoughts he had before, would not be so ill a courtier as not to advance such a proposition. The lady was already in possession of the greatest fortune in Scotland, which would have a fair addition upon the death of her mother.

The king liked the motion well; and so the mother was sent to, to bring up her daughter to London, they being then both in Scotland. And when they came, the king trusted the earl of Lautherdale principally to treat that affair with the mother, who

[g] him] it

[h] match] *Not in MS.*

1663. had rather have been referred to any other body, having indeed some just exceptions. They were both yet under the years of consent; but that time drawing on, such a contract was drawn up as had been first proposed to the king, which was, "that "the whole estate, for want of issue by the young "lady, or by her death, should be devolved upon "the young man who was to marry her, and his "heirs for ever; and that this should be settled by "act of parliament in Scotland." Matters being drawn to this length, and writings being to be prepared, it was now necessary that this young gentleman must have a name, and the Scots advocate had prepared a draught, in which he was styled the king's natural son: and the king was every day pressed by the great lady, and those young men who knew the customs of France, to create him a nobleman of England; and was indeed very willing to be advised to that purpose.

He is contracted to the countess of Buccleugh.

The king consults the chancellor about this son.

Till this time, this whole matter was treated in secret amongst the Scots: but now the king thought fit to consult it with others; and telling the chancellor of all that had passed, shewed him the draught prepared by the Scots advocate, and asked him "what he thought of it," and likewise implied, "that he thought fit to give him some title of ho-"nour." After he had read it over, he told his majesty, "that he need not give him any other title of "honour than he would enjoy by his marriage, by "which he would by the law of Scotland be called "earl of Buccleugh, which would be title enough; "and he desired his majesty to pardon him, if he "found fault with and disliked the title they had "given him who prepared that draught, wherein

The chancellor's advice.

" they had presumed to style him the king's natural 1663.
" son, which was never, at least in many ages, used
" in England, and would have an ill sound in Eng-
" land with all his people, who thought that those
" unlawful acts ought to be concealed, and not pub-
" lished and justified. That France indeed had,
" with inconvenience enough to the crown, raised
" some families of those births; but it was always
" from women of great quality, and who had never
" been tainted with any other familiarity. And
" that there was another circumstance required in
" Spain, which his majesty should do well to ob-
" serve in this case, if he had taken a resolution in
" the main; which was, that the king took care for
" the good education of that child whom he believed
" to be his, but never publicly owned or declared
" him to be such, till he had given some notable evi-
" dence of his inheriting or having acquired such
" virtues and qualities, as made him in the eyes of
" all men worthy of such a descent. That this gen-
" tleman was yet young, and not yet to be judged
" of: and therefore if he were for the present mar-
" ried to this young lady, and assumed her title, as
" he must do, his majesty might defer for some
" years making any such declaration; which he
" might do when he would, and which at present
" would be as unpopular an action in the hearts of
" his subjects as he could commit."

Though the king did not seem to concur in all that was said, he did not appear at all offended, and only asked him, " whether he had not conferred " with the queen his mother upon that subject." When he assured him, " he had not, nor with any " other person, and though he had heard some gene-

1663. " ral discourse of his majesty's purpose to make that " marriage, he had never heard either of the other " particulars mentioned;" the king said, " he had " reason to ask the question, because many of those " things which he had said had been spoken to him " by the queen his mother, who was entirely of his " opinion, which she used not to be;" and concluded, " that he would confer with them together," seeming for the present to be more moved and doubtful in the matter of the declaration, than in the other of the creation; and said, " there was " no reason, since she brought all the estate, that " she should receive no addition by her husband." The queen afterwards took an occasion to speak at large to the chancellor of it with much warmth, and manifestation that she did not like it. But the king spake with neither of them afterwards upon it, but signed the declaration, and created him to be duke of Monmouth; very few persons dissuading it, and the lady employing all her credit to bring it to pass: and the earl of Bristol (who in those difficult cases was usually consulted) pressed it as the only way to make the king's friendship valuable.

The king publicly owns his son, and creates him duke of Monmouth.

Since the earl of Bristol is mentioned upon this occasion, it will not be unseasonable to give him the next part in this relation. Though he had left no way unattempted to render himself gracious to the king, by saying and doing all that might be acceptable unto him, and contriving such meetings and jollities as he was pleased with; and though his majesty had been several ways very bountiful to him, and had particularly given him at one time ten thousand pounds in money, with which he had purchased Wimbleton of the queen, and had given him

Ashdown-forest and other lands in Sussex: yet he found he had not that degree of favour and interest in the king's affections, as he desired, or desired that other people should think he had. The change of his religion kept him from being admitted to the council, or to any employment of moment. And whereas he made no doubt of drawing the whole dependance of the Roman catholics upon himself, and to have the disposal of that interest, and to that purpose had the Jesuits firm to him; he found that he had no kind of credit with them, nor was admitted by them to their most secret consultations, and that the fathers of the society had more enemies than friends amongst the catholics. 1663.

His estate had been sold and settled by his own consent, upon the marriage of his eldest son twice to great fortunes: so that when he returned from beyond the seas, he could not return to his estate as others did, and had little more to subsist upon than the king's bounty; and that was not poured out upon him in the measure he wished, though few persons tasted more of it. He was in his nature very covetous, and ready to embrace all ways that were offered to get money, whether honourable or no, for he had not a great power over himself, and could not bear want, which he could hardly avoid, for he was nothing provident in his expenses, when he had any temptation from his ambition or vanity. Besides, his appetite to play and gaming, in which he had no skill, and by which he had all his life spent whatever he could get, was not at all abated. He spent as much money at Wimbleton in building and gardening, as the land was worth.

By all these means he found himself in straits,

1663. which he could neither endure nor get from, and which transported him to that degree, that he resolved to treat the king in another manner than he had ever yet presumed to do. And having asked somewhat of him that his majesty did not think fit to grant, he told him, "he knew well the cause of "his withdrawing his favour from him; that it pro- "ceeded only from the chancellor, who governed "him and managed all his affairs, whilst himself "spent his time only in pleasures and debauchery:" and in this passion upbraided him with many excesses, to which no man had contributed more than he had done. He said many truths which ought to have been more modestly and decently mentioned, and all this in the presence of the lord Aubigny, who was as much surprised as the king; and concluded, "that if he did not give him satisfaction[1] "within such a time," (the time allowed did not exceed four and twenty hours,) "he would do some- "what that would awaken him out of his slumber, "and make him look better to his own business;" and added many threats against the chancellor. The king stood all this time in such confusion, that though he gave him more sharp words than were natural to him, he had not that presentness of mind (as he afterwards accused himself) as he ought to have had; and said, "he ought presently to have "called for the guard," it being in his own closet, "and sent him to the Tower."

The earl of Bristol's extravagant behaviour to the king.

The court and the town was full of the discourse that the earl of Bristol would accuse the chancellor of high treason, who knew nothing of what had

[1] give him satisfaction] *Omitted in MS.*

passed with the king. And it seems when the time was past that he prescribed to the king to give him satisfaction, he came one morning to the house of peers with a paper in his hand; and told the lords, 1663.

He accuses the chancellor of high treason.

" that he could not but observe, that after so glori-
" ous a return with which God had blessed the king
" and the nation, so that all the world had expected,
" that the prosperity of the kingdom would have
" far exceeded the misery and adversity that it had
" for many years endured; and after the parliament
" had contributed more towards it, than ever parlia-
" ment had done: notwithstanding all which, it was
" evident to all men, and lamented by those who
" wished well to his majesty, that his affairs grew
" every day worse and worse; the king himself lost
" much of his honour, and the affection he had in
" the hearts of the people. That for his part he
" looked upon it with as much sadness as any man,
" and had made inquiry as well as he could from
" whence this great misfortune, which every body
" was sensible of, could proceed; and that he was
" satisfied in his own conscience, that it proceeded
" principally from the power and credit and sole
" credit of the chancellor: and therefore he was re-
" solved, for the good of his country, to accuse the
" lord chancellor of high treason; which he had
" done in the paper which he desired might be read,
" all written with his own hand, to which he sub-
" scribed his name."

The paper contained many articles, which he called Articles of High Treason and other Misdemeanors; amongst which one was, " that he had " persuaded the king to send a gentleman (a crea-" ture of his own) to Rome with letters to the pope,

1663. " to give a cardinal's cap to the lord Aubigny, who " was almoner to the queen." The rest contained " his assuming to himself the government of all " public affairs, which he had administered unskil- " fully, corruptly, and traitorously; which he was " ready to prove."

The chancellor, without any trouble in his countenance, told the lords, " that he had had the ho- " nour heretofore to have so much the good opinion " and friendship of that lord, that he durst appeal " to his own conscience, that he did not himself be- " lieve one of those articles to be true, and knew " the contrary of most of them. And he was glad " to find that he thought it so high a crime to send " to Rome, and to desire a cardinal's cap for a ca- " tholic lord, who had been always bred from his " cradle in that faith: but he did assure them, that " that gentleman was only sent by the queen to " the pope, upon an affair that she thought herself " obliged to comply with him in, and in hope to do " some good office to Portugal; and that the king " had neither writ to the pope, nor to any other " person in Rome." He spake at large to most of the articles, to shew the impossibility of their being true, and that they reflected more upon the king's honour than upon his; and concluded, " that he " was sorry that lord had not been better advised, " for he did believe that though all that was alleged " in the articles should be true, they would not all " amount to high treason, upon which he desired " the judges might be required to deliver their " opinion; the which the lords ordered the judges " to do." It was moved by one of the lords, " that " the copy of the articles might be sent to the king;

"because he was mentioned so presumptuously in "them;" which was likewise agreed; and the articles were delivered to the lord chamberlain to present to the king. 1663.

The chancellor had promised that day to dine in Whitehall, but would not presume to go thither till he had sent to the king, not thinking it fit to go into his court, whilst he lay under an accusation of high treason, without his leave. His majesty sent him word, "that he should dine where he had ap-"pointed, and as soon as he had dined that he "should attend him." Then his majesty told him and the lord treasurer all that had passed between the earl of Bristol and him in the presence of the lord Aubigny; and in the relation of it expressed great indignation, and was angry with himself, "that he had not immediately sent him to the "Tower, which," he said, "he would do as soon as "he could apprehend him." He used the chancellor with much grace, and told him, "that the earl of "Bristol had not treated him so ill as he had done "his majesty; and that his articles were more to "his dishonour, and reflected more upon him, for "which he would have justice."

His majesty commanded the lord chamberlain to return his thanks to the house, "for the respect "they had shewed to him in sending those articles "to him;" and to let them know, "that he looked "upon them as a libel against himself more than a "charge against the chancellor, who upon his know-"ledge was innocent in all the particulars charged "upon him;" which report the lord chamberlain made the next morning to the house; and at the same time the judges declared their opinion unani-

1663. mously, "that the whole charge contained nothing "of treason though it were all true." Upon which the earl of Bristol, especially upon what the lord chamberlain had reported from the king, appeared in great confusion, and lamented his condition, "that he, for endeavouring to serve his country "upon the impulsion of his conscience, was discoun- "tenanced, and threatened with the anger and dis- "pleasure of his prince; whilst his adversary kept "his place in the house, and had the judges so much "at his devotion that they would not certify against "him." The chancellor moved the house, "that a "short day might be given to the earl, to bring in "his evidence to prove the several matters of his "charge; otherwise that he might have such repa- "ration, as was in their judgments proportionable "to the indignity." The earl said, "he should "not fail to produce witnessess to prove all he had "alleged, and more: but that he could not appoint "a time when he could be ready for a hearing, "because many of his most important witnesses "were beyond the seas, some at Paris, and others "in other places; and that he must examine the "duke of Ormond, who was lieutenant in Ireland, "and the earl of Lautherdale, who was then in "Scotland, and must desire commissioners [h] to that "purpose."

The earl of Bristol absconds upon the king's warrant to apprehend him.

But from that day he made no further instance: and understanding that the king had given warrants to a sergeant at arms to apprehend him, he concealed himself in several places for the space of near two years; sending sometimes letters and petitions

[k] commissioners] commissions

by his wife to the king, who would not receive them. 1663.
But in the end his majesty was prevailed with by the lady and sir Harry Bennet to see him in private; but would not admit him to come to the court, nor repeal his warrants for his apprehension: so that he appeared not publicly till the chancellor's misfortune; and then he came to the court and to the parliament in great triumph, and shewed a more impotent malice, than was expected from his generosity and understanding.

The affairs of Scotland.

We shall in the next place take a view of Scotland, whither we left Middleton sent the king's commissioner, who performed his part with wonderful dexterity and conduct, and with more success than some of his countrymen were pleased with. We have remembered before the debate upon his instructions, and the earnest advice and caution given by Lautherdale against any hasty attempt to make alteration in the matters of the church, which was at last left to the discretion of the commissioner, to proceed in such a manner, and at such a time, as he found most convenient. As soon as he came thither, he found himself received with as universal an exclamation, and the king's authority as cheerfully submitted to, as can be imagined or could be wished; and such a consent to every thing he proposed, that he made no question but any thing his majesty required would find an entire obedience. The earl of Glencarne, who was chancellor, and the earl of Rothes, and all the nobility of any interest or credit, were not only faithful to the king, but fast friends to Middleton, and magnified his conduct in all their letters.

The commissioner well received.

The earl of Crawford alone, who was treasurer,

1663. which is an office that cannot be unattended by a great faction in that kingdom, retained still his rigid affection for the presbytery, when the ministers themselves grew much less rigid, and were even ashamed of the many follies and madnesses they had committed. But the earl of Crawford did all he could to raise their spirits, and to keep them firm to the kirk. In all other particulars he was full of devotion to the king, being entirely of the faction of Hamilton, and nearly allied to it; and when the king was in Scotland had served him signally, and had then been made by him high treasurer of that kingdom; and upon Cromwell's prevailing and conjunction with Argyle, was as odious as any man to them both, and had for many years been prisoner in England till the time of the king's return. There was always a great friendship between him and Lautherdale; the former being a man of much the greater interest, and of unquestionable courage; the other excelling him in all the faculties which are necessary to business, and being[1] a master in dissimulation.

Middleton, and the lords who went with him, and the general, (upon whose advice the king depended as much in the business of Scotland,) were all earnest with his majesty to remove the earl of Crawford from that great office, which would enable him to do mischief. But the king's good-nature prevailed over him, though he knew him as well as they did: and he thought it too hardhearted a thing to remove a man, whom he found a prisoner for his service, from an office he had formerly conferred

[1] being] *Not in MS.*

upon him for his merit, and which he had not for- 1663.
feited by any miscarriage. And it may be it was some argument to him of his sincerity, that when others, who to his majesty's own knowledge were as rigid presbyterians as he, were now very frank in renouncing and disclaiming all obligations from it, he, of all the nobility, was the only man who still adhered to it, when it was evident to him that he should upon the matter be undone by it. However, the king sent him down with the rest into Scotland, being confident that he would do nothing to disserve him, as in truth he never did; and resolved [m] that, when the business of the church came to be agitated, if he did continue still refractory, he would take the staff from him, and confer [n] it upon Middleton: who, though all things were very fair between him and Lautherdale, to whom all his despatches must be addressed, yet depended more upon those of the English council, to whom the king had required the secretary to communicate all that he received from the commissioner, and all the despatches which he should make to him. And by this means no orders were sent from the king which restrained him from proceeding in the matter of the church according to discretion, as he was appointed by his instructions; though Lautherdale did not dissemble, when letters came from Scotland "of the "good posture the king's affairs were in there, and "that any thing might be brought to pass that he "desired," to receive other letters to which he gave more credit; and was still as solicitous that no-

[m] resolved] *Not in MS.* [n] confer] resolved to confer

1663. thing might be attempted with reference to the kirk.

Proceedings of the Scotch parliament.

As soon as the parliament was convened at Edinburgh, and the commissioner found the temper of them to be such as he could wish, the marquis of Argyle (who had been sent by sea from the Tower of London to Leith) was brought to his trial upon many articles of treason and murder; wherein all his confederacies with Cromwell were laid open, and much insisted upon to prove his being privy to the resolution of taking the king's life, and advising it: and though there was great reason to suspect it, and most men believed it, the proofs were not clear enough to convict him. But then the evidence was so full and clear of so many horrid murders committed by his order upon persons in his displeasure, and his immediate possessing himself of their estates, and other monstrous and unheard of acts of oppression; that the parliament condemned him to be hanged upon a gallows of an unusual height, and in or near the place where he had caused the marquis of Mountrose to be formerly executed: all which was performed the same day with the universal joy of the people; the unfortunate person himself shewing more resolution and courage than was expected from him, and expressing much affection and zeal for the covenant, for which he desired all men should believe he was put to death. There was likewise one seditious preacher, Gilaspy, who had been a notorious and malicious rebel against the last and the present king, underwent the same trial and judgment, with the same faith in the covenant, and without show of repentance.

The marquis of Argyle tried, condemned, and executed.

Gilaspy, a fanatic, executed.

And it was much wondered at, that no more of that tribe, which had kindled the fire that had almost burned two kingdoms, and never had endeavoured to extinguish it, were ever brought to justice; and that the lives of two men should be thought a sufficient sacrifice for that kingdom to offer for all the mischief it had done. 1663.

When this work was done, the parliament without hesitation repealed all those acts prejudicial to the crown and the royal dignity, which had been made since the beginning of the rebellion, and upon which all the rebellions had been founded; and branded their beloved covenant with all the reproaches it deserved, and this even with the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the kirk. By all which the obstructions were removed; and it was now in the power of the king to make bishops as heretofore, and to settle the church in the same government to which it had formerly been subject. But the commissioner thought not this enough; and apprehended that the king might yet be persuaded, though there was no such appearance, "that the "people were against it, and that it would be better "to defer it:" and therefore the parliament prepared a petition to the king, highly aggravating the wickedness of the former time in destroying episcopacy, without which they could not have brought their wicked devices to pass; and therefore they were humble suitors to his majesty, "that he would "make choice of such grave divines, as he thought "fit to be consecrated bishops, for all the vacant "sees," they being at that time all vacant, there being not one bishop of the nation alive.

The parliament petition the king to restore episcopacy.

And the commissioner having declared that he

1663. meant to prorogue the parliament, they appointed a draught of an oath or subscription to be prepared against the next session, whereby every man, who was possessed of a church or any other ecclesiastical promotion in that kingdom, should be bound to renounce the covenant upon the penalty of being deprived; intimating likewise, that they resolved, at the next meeting, "that no man should be capable "of holding any office, or of being a privy counsel-"lor, who would not formally subscribe the same."

They prepare an abjuration of the covenant;

They settled a standing militia of forty thousand men, to be always ready to march upon the king's orders; and raised two good troops of horse, and provided for the payment of them; and granted such a sum of money to the king, as could be reasonably expected from so poor and harassed a country, and which would serve the defraying the necessary expenses thereof. And all this being done, and the prorogation made, the commissioner and some of the other lords came to London to kiss the king's hand, and to receive his further directions, having so fully despatched all his former orders. They brought likewise with them some other propositions, which will be mentioned anon.

And settle a standing force.

The commissioner returns to London.

The king received the commissioner with open arms, and was very well pleased with all that he had done; and nobody seemed to magnify it more than Lautherdale, who was least satisfied with it. Nor could he now longer oppose the making of bishops there: so having presented the names of such persons to the king who were thought fit to be consecrated bishops, whereof some had been with his majesty abroad, they were all sent for to London; and such of them who had not before received their

ordination from a bishop, but from the presbytery in Scotland, whereof the archbishop of St. Andrew's was one, first received orders of deacon and priest from the bishop of London, and were afterwards consecrated in the usual form by the bishops who were then near the town, and made so great a feast as if it had been at the charge of their country. 1663. Scotch bishops consecrated.

The commissioner, the chancellor, the earl of Rothes and others, with the lord Lautherdale, were deputed by the parliament to be humble suitors to the king; "since they had performed on their part "all that was of the duty of good subjects, and were "ready to give any other testimony of their obedi- "ence that his majesty would require; and since "the whole kingdom was entirely at his devotion, "and in such a posture that they were able as "well as willing to preserve the peace thereof, and "to suppress any seditious party that should at- "tempt any disturbance; that his majesty would "now remove the English garrisons from thence, "and permit the fortifications and works, which had "been erected at a vast charge, to be demolished, "that there might remain no monuments of the "slavery they had undergone." And this they demanded as in justice due to them, "since there "were few men now alive, none in the least power, "who had contributed to the ills which had been "committed; and all the men of power had under- "gone for ten or a dozen years as great oppression "as could be put upon them, because they would "not renounce their fidelity to the king: and since "it had pleased God to restore his majesty, they "hoped he would not[o] continue those yokes and

The Scotch desire the English garrisons may be withdrawn.

[o] not] *Omitted in MS.*

1663. "shackles upon them, which had been prepared and "put upon them to keep them from returning to "their allegiance."

This was proposed in the presence of those of the English council, who had been formally admitted to be of the council of Scotland, and continued to meet upon that affair. The Scots lords enlarged with much warmth "upon the intolerable oppres- "sion that nation had undergone, on the poverty "they still suffered, and the impossibility of being "able to bear any part of the charge, and the jea- "lousy that it would keep up between the nations, "which could not be to the king's profit and conve- "nience." They had privately spoken before with the king upon it, and had prevailed with him to think what they desired had reason and justice in it; and the English lords could not upon the sud- den, and without conference together, resolve what was fit for them to say: so that they desired, without expressing any inclination in the matter, "that the "debate might be put off to another day;" which the Scots took very ill, as if the very deferring it were an argument that they thought it might be denied. But when they saw they would not pre- sently speak to it, they were content that another day should be appointed for the consideration of it: and they afterwards desired the king, "that he "would call the committee of the English council, "who used to attend him in the most secret affairs, "to consult what was to be done." Nobody could deny but that the Scots had reason to demand it. And they who thought it a bridle fit to keep in their mouths, to restrain them from future rebellions which they might be inclined to, could not easily

resolve what answer should be given to them in the negative. And they who thought the demand to be so just and reasonable, and so much for the king's benefit and advantage, that it ought to be granted, did believe likewise that it was a thing so capable of censure and reproach, in regard of the general prejudice which the English have against that people, that no particular person was able to bear the odium of the advice; nor that the king himself should take the resolution upon himself without very mature deliberation. 1663.

That which advanced the proposition as fit to be granted, was the charge of maintaining those forces; which that kingdom was so incapable of bearing, that Middleton and Glencarne (whose duties and entire devotion to the king were above all exception or suspicion) declared not only to the king, but to those of the lords with whom they would confer freely, "that if the king thought it necessary to "keep that people still there, he must send more "forces of horse and foot thither; otherwise they "were not strong enough to subdue the whole king-"dom, but would as soon as they stirred out of their "garrisons be knocked in the head; nor would the "country pay any thing towards their support, but "what should be extorted by force: so that his "majesty would not be thought to possess that "kingdom in peace, which otherwise he would "unquestionably do." Some circumstances that facilitate their request.

And this consideration was improved by the reflection upon the body of men of which those forces consisted, which was a parcel of the worst affected men to the king of the whole army, and which the general had therefore left in Scotland, when he

1663. marched into England under the command of major general Morgan, (who was worthy of any trust,) because he was not sure enough of their fidelity to take them with him, yet thought them [p] fit enough to be left to restrain the Scots from any sudden insurrection. But now they saw all their model brought to confusion, they were not so much above temptation, but that they might, especially if they were drawn together, concur in any desperate design with a discontented party in Scotland, or with their brethren of the disbanded army of England, who at that season had rebellious resolutions in the north. And which [q] was of no small importance, there was at this very time an opportunity to transport all those forces (the very disbanding whereof would not be without danger for the reasons aforesaid) to Portugal, in compliance with the king's obligation upon his marriage.

On the contrary, it was very notorious that the people generally throughout England, of what quality soever, a few London presbyterians excepted, were marvellously pleased to see the Scots so admirably chastised and yoked; nor had Cromwell ever done an act that more reconciled the affections of the English to him, than his most rigorous treatment of that nation; and they never contributed money so willingly towards any of his designs, as for the erecting those forts in the several quarters of the kingdom; which, with a little addition of force, they had good experience would suffice to keep it from giving any disturbance to their neighbours. And the demolishing all those structures in

[p] thought them] *Not in MS.*

[q] which] that which

one instant, and leaving an unquiet and an impoverished people to their own inclinations, could not be grateful. 1663.

The king had, during the time that he resided in Scotland before his march to Worcester, contracted, and had brought with him from thence, a perfect detestation of their kirk and presbyterian government, and a great prejudice against the whole family of Argyle and some other persons. But he was exceedingly reconciled to the nation; and besides the esteem he had of the persons of very many noblemen, he did really believe the burgesses and common people to be as heartily affected to him, and as much at his disposal, as any subjects he had. And the lord Lautherdale cultivated this gracious credulity with so much diligence, that he assured the king, "that he might depend upon the whole Scots "nation as upon one man, to be employed [r] in "his service and commands of what kind soever, "and against what enemy soever." His majesty upon the debate of this business declared, "that he "did not only think it good husbandry in respect of "the expense, and good policy, that he might keep "Scotland entirely at his devotion, whilst Ireland "remained in this confusion, and England itself was "threatened by such factions in religion, to gratify "them in what they desired; but that he held himself obliged in honour, justice, and conscience, to "send all the forces out of that kingdom, and to deface the monuments of that time: and that there "would be no more to be consulted, but what to do "with those forces," (which was quickly resolved, The king for it.

[r] to be employed] to be employed as one man

1663. that they should be all sent for Portugal; and order was presently given for ships upon which they were to be embarked,) " and then to consider in what " method the other should be done."

The Scots were very well satisfied[s] with the king's resolution upon the main, but troubled at somewhat that the English lords proposed for the way, " that " the privy-council first, and then the parliament, " should be informed of his majesty's intentions: " which," they said, " would be against the honour " and the interest and the right of Scotland, which " never submitted any of their concernments to be " debated at the council-board of England; and the " innovation would be no less in remitting it to the " parliament, which had no pretence of jurisdiction " over them." To both which they were answered, " that the withdrawing the English forces, and de- " molishing the English fortifications, concerned " England no less than the other kingdom; and " that his majesty did not intend it should be pro- " posed to them, as a thing of which he made any " doubt or required their advice, but only as a mat- " ter of fact, which would prevent all murmurings or " censures, which otherwise might arise." The English lords desired, " that the king's orders might " be very positive, and that the commissioner might " see them executed, for the utter demolishing all " those fortifications which the English were to " abandon, that they might not be continued for " the entertainment of new garrisons of the natives, " which would administer matter of new jealousies:" all which they cheerfully consented to, well knowing

[s] satisfied] settled

that they might afterwards perform what they found convenient; and many did since believe, that there remains enough in some of the places to be shelter to a rebellion hereafter. 1663.

The king appointed the chancellor to make a relation, at a conference between the two houses of parliament, "of the good posture his majesty's affairs of Scotland stood in; of their having repealed all those ill laws which had been made by the advantage of the rebellion, and all that concerned the church; upon which that his majesty forthwith resolved to settle bishops in that kingdom, which appeared very unanimously devoted to his service: and that the king could not but communicate this good news to them, which he knew would give them cause of rejoicing." And then he told them, "that the Scots parliament, in regard of the peace and quiet that they enjoyed, without the least apprehension of trouble from abroad or at home, had desired the king, that the English forces might be withdrawn and all the fortifications razed; and that those forces might be convenient, if his majesty thought fit, to be transported to Portugal;" without discovering what his majesty had resolved to do, or asking any opinion from them, which however they might have given if they pleased. The effect was, that both houses sent their humble thanks to the king "for his having vouchsafed to let them know the good condition of Scotland, of which they wished his majesty much joy; and hoped his other dominions would in a short time be in the same tranquillity:" without taking any notice of withdrawing the garrisons. And so that affair ended.

The English parliament do not oppose it.

1663. During this agitation in London, it was discernible enough that there were great jealousies between the Scots lords. The commissioner and the other had cause to believe, that the king gave much more credit to Lautherdale than to them, and looked upon him as a man of great interest in that country, when they knew he had none, being neither in his quality or fortune amongst those who were esteemed men of power and dependance. And he thought them linked in a faction against him, to lessen the value the king had of him, which indeed was the foundation of all his credit and interest. What countenance soever he set upon it, he was sensibly afflicted at the downfall of the presbytery, and that Middleton had brought that to pass without any difficulty, (as he had before told the king he would,) which he had assured his majesty was impossible to be effected but in long time and by many stratagems.

The marquis of Argyle had been a man universally odious to the whole nation, some ministers and preachers excepted: and there had been always thought to have been an implacable animosity from Lautherdale towards him; and after the king's return no man had appeared more against him, nor more insisted upon his not being admitted to his majesty's presence, or for his being sent into Scotland to be tried. Yet after all this it was discovered, that he had interposed all he could with his majesty to save him, and employed all his interest in Scotland to the same purpose. And the marquis was no sooner executed, but the earl of Lautherdale had prevailed with the king immediately to give his son, the lord Lorne, (who had remained in London to solicit on his father's behalf,) leave to kiss his

Lord Lorne restored, and created

hand, and to create him earl of Argyle, and to confer on him the office of general justice in the Highlands, by which his father had been qualified to do most of the wickednesses he had committed; all which the parliament of Scotland should have treated as[t] the most sensible affront to them that they could undergo. 1663. earl of Argyle.

It was well known that this young man, who was captain of the king's guard when he was in Scotland, had treated his majesty with that rudeness and barbarity, that he was much more odious to him than his father; and in all the letters which Lautherdale had found opportunity to write, whilst he was a prisoner in England, to the king when he was beyond the seas, he inveighed equally against the son as the father, and never gave him any other title than, "That Toad's Bird:" so that nobody could imagine from whence this change could proceed, but from a design to preserve an interest in the presbyterian party against the time he should have occasion to use them.

Then there were circumstances in this grace of the king to the lord Lorne, that exceeded all men's comprehension: for his majesty caused all the estate of the marquis of Argyle, which did not appear in any degree so considerable as it was generally believed to have been, to be seized upon as forfeited to him; and then would grant it to the son so absolutely, that neither the owners should recover what had been injuriously and violently taken from them for their loyalty to the king, nor the creditors receive satisfaction for the just debts which were due

[t] have treated as] *Omitted in MS.*

1663. to them, and which must have been satisfied if the king had retained the forfeiture. But upon the application of the commissioner and the other lords, that the king would hear all persons concerned, there was some mitigation in those particulars, notwithstanding all the opposition which Lautherdale did barefaced make on the behalf of the lord Lorne, and which the other bore with great indignation: which he knew very well, and did believe that the oath and subscription, which he well knew they had contrived for the next session of parliament, was levelled at him; that not taking it, as they did not believe he would do, the secretary of Scotland's place might become void, which they had much rather should have been in any man's hand than in his. And therefore he took all occasions to profess and declare, besides his constant raillery against the presbytery, "that if they should require him to sub-"scribe that he is a Turk, he would do it before he "would lose his office."

The matter of these offences being most in private, and so not publicly taken notice of, they made a fair show and kept good quarter towards each other. And the king consenting to all that the commissioner proposed with reference to the public, being indeed abundantly satisfied with his comportment, and at parting promising to give him the office of treasurer, when by Crawford's refusing to subscribe it should become void; they, with all their bishops, returned again for Scotland with incurable jealousy of Lautherdale, who remained waiting upon the king, and resolved to cross all their designs he could, and quietly to expect a better opportunity to undo what he could not for the present prevent.

The commissioner and bishops return to Scotland.

It is time now to return to the parliament of England, which, according to the time of the prorogation, met again in March towards the entrance into the year 1664: when at their first meeting the king informed them at large of the insurrection that had been endeavoured in the summer before in Yorkshire, which, how foolishly soever contrived, was a very great instance of the distemper of the nation; that three years after the disbanding of the army, the officers thereof should remain still so unquiet, as to hope to give any signal disturbance to the peace of the kingdom, by such a commotion as they could upon their credit raise. 1664. The English parliament meets.

The continual discourse of plots and insurrections had so wearied the king, that he even resolved to give no more countenance to any such informations, nor to trouble himself with inquiry into them; but to leave the peace of the kingdom against any such attempts to the vigilance of the civil magistrates, and the care of the officers of the militia, which he presumed would be sufficient to quell and suppress any ordinary fanatic design. And upon this resolution, and to avoid the reproach of the late times, of contriving plots only to commit men to prison against whom there was any prejudice, he totally neglected the first information he received of this seditious purpose. But when the intelligence was continued from several parts, and so particular for the time and place of the rendezvous, and for the seizing upon the city of York; and there was evidence that some men of estate and fortune, and who were held wary and discreet men, were engaged in it; his majesty thought it time to provide against it, and not only commended the care of it to the lords An insurrection intended in Yorkshire;

1664. lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the counties adjacent, but sent likewise several troops of his own horse to possess the city of York before the day appointed, and to attend some of the places of the rendezvous. And they came very seasonably, and surprised many upon the very place, before their company was strong enough to make resistance. Others did make some resistance, but quickly fled and were dispersed. Many were taken, and upon their examination behaved themselves as if they were sure to be quickly rescued; for it appeared that they did believe that the insurrection would have been general throughout the kingdom, and that all the disbanded army would have been brought together at several rendezvouses.

But prevented.

All the prisons in the north were so full, that the king thought it necessary to send down four or five of the judges of the several benches of Westminster-hall to York, with a commission of oyer and terminer, to examine the whole matter. There, though the judges did not believe that they had discovered the bottom of the whole conspiracy, they found cause to condemn very many; whereof seventeen or eighteen were executed, some reprieved, and very many left in prison to be tried at the next assizes. Amongst those who were executed, the man who was most looked upon was one Rymer, of the quality of the better sort of grand-jurymen, and held a wise man, and was known to be trusted by the greatest men who had been in rebellion: and he was discovered by a person of intimate trust with him, who had heretofore the same affections with him, but would venture no more. He was a sullen man, and used few words to excuse himself, and

Some of the plotters executed.

none to hurt any body else; though he was thought to know much, and that having a good estate he would never have embarked in a design that had no probability of success. Some of the prisoners declared, "that they were assured by those who engaged them, that such and such great men would "appear at the rendezvous or soon after." But that was not thought a sufficient ground to trouble any man, though some of them were very liable to suspicion; since in all combinations of that kind, it is a most usual artifice to work upon weak men, by persuading them that other men, of whom they have great esteem, are engaged in it, who in truth know nothing of it. 1664.

The judges were returned from York little time before the parliament met; and therefore the king thought it fit to awaken them to much vigilance, by informing them with what secrecy that conspiracy had been carried. And his majesty assured them, "that he was not yet at the bottom of that business; and that it appeared manifestly, that this "conspiracy was but a branch of that which he had "discovered as well as he could to them about two "years since, and had been then executed nearer "hand, if he had not by God's goodness come to "the knowledge of some of the principal contrivers, "and so secured them from doing the mischief they "intended." The king's speech at the meeting of the parliament.

His majesty told them, "that they would wonder "(yet he said what was true) that they were now "even in those parts, when they see their friends "under trial and execution, still pursuing the same "consultations: and it was evident that they had cor-"respondence with desperate persons in most coun-

1665. " ties, and a standing council in London itself, from
" which they received their directions, and by whom
" they were advised to defer their last intended in-
" surrection. But those orders served only to dis-
" tract them, and came too late to prevent their
" destruction." He said, " he knew more of their
" intrigues, than they thought he did; and hoped he
" should shortly discover the bottom: in the mean
" time he desired the parliament, that they might
" all be as watchful to prevent, as they were to con-
" trive their mischief." He said, " he could not
" upon this occasion omit to tell them, that these
" desperate men in their counsels (as appeared by
" several examinations) had not been all of one mind
" in the ways of carrying on their wicked resolu-
" tions. Some would still insist upon the authority
" of the long parliament, of which they say they have
" members enough willing to meet: others have fan-
" cied to themselves, by some computation of their
" own, upon some clause in the triennial bill, that
" this present parliament was at an end some months
" since; and that for want of new writs they may
" assemble themselves, and choose members for par-
" liament; and that this is the best expedient to
" bring themselves together for their other pur-
" poses. For the long parliament," his majesty said,
" that he and they together could do no more than
" he had done to inform and compose the minds of
" men; let them proceed upon that at their peril.
" But he thought there had been nothing done to
" disabuse men in respect of the triennial bill. He
" confessed that he had often himself read over that
" bill; and though there is no colour for the fancy
" of the determination of this parliament; yet he

" would not deny to them, that he had always ex- 1665.
" pected that they would, and even wondered that
" they had not considered the wonderful clauses in
" that bill, which had passed in a time very uncare-
" ful for the dignity of the crown, or the security of
" the people." His majesty desired the speaker and the gentlemen of the house of commons, " that
" they would once give that triennial bill a reading
" in their house; and then in God's name they
" might do what they thought fit for him, them-
" selves, and the whole kingdom." His majesty said, " that he needed not tell them how much he
" loved parliaments: never king was so much be-
" holden [u] to parliaments as he had been; nor did
" he think that the crown could ever be happy with-
" out frequent parliaments. But he wished them
" to assure themselves, that if he should think other-
" wise, he would never suffer a parliament to come
" together by the means prescribed by that bill."

He renewed his thanks to them " for the free
" supply they gave him the last session of four sub-
" sidies; yet he could not but tell them, that that
" supply was fallen much short of what he expected
" and they intended. That it would hardly be be-
" lieved, yet they knew it to be true, that very many
" persons, who have estates of three or four thou-
" sand pounds by the year, do not pay for these four
" subsidies sixteen pounds: so that whereas they
" intended and declared, that they should be col-
" lected according to former precedents, they do not
" now arise to half the proportion they did in the
" time of queen Elizabeth; and yet sure the crown

[u] beholden] beholding

1665. " wants more now than it did then, and the subject
" is at least as well able to give." His majesty said,
" the truth is, by the license of the late ill time, and
" ill humour of this, too many of the people, and
" even of those who make fair professions, believe it
" to be no sin to defraud the crown of any thing
" that is due to it. That they no sooner gave him
" tonnage and poundage, than men were devising
" all the means they could to steal custom; nor
" could the farmers be so vigilant for the collection,
" as others were to steal the duties. They gave him
" the excise, which all people abroad believed to be
" the most insensible imposition that can be laid
" upon a people: what conspiracies and combina-
" tions were entered into against it by the brewers,
" who he was sure did not bear the burden them-
" selves, even to bring that revenue to nothing, they
" would hear in Westminster-hall. They had given
" him the chimney-money, which they had reason
" to believe was a growing revenue, for men build
" at least fast enough; and they would therefore
" wonder, that it was already declined, and that this
" half year brings in less than the former did." He desired them therefore, " that they would review that
" bill; and since he was sure that they would have
" him receive whatsoever they gave, that he might
" have the collecting and husbanding of it by his
" own officers, and then he doubted not but to im-
" prove that receipt, and he would be cozened as
" little as he could."

His majesty concluded with " desiring and con-
" juring them to keep a very good correspondence
" together, that it might not be in the power of any
" seditious or factious spirits to make them jealous

" of each other, or either of them jealous of him, till 1665.
" they see him pretend one thing and do another,
" which he was sure they had never yet done." He assured them, " it should be in nobody's power to " make him jealous of them." And so desired them, " that they would despatch what they found neces- " sary, that they might be ready for a session within " two months or thereabout, because the season of " the year would invite them all to take the country " air."

It was very happy for his majesty, that he did cut out their work to their hand, and asked no money of them, and limited them a short time to continue together. It made their counsels very unanimous: and though they raised no new taxes and impositions upon the people, they made what they had before raised much more valuable to the king than it was before, by passing other acts and declarations for the explaining many things, and the better collecting the money they had formerly given; which much added to his majesty's profit without grieving the people, who were rather gratified in the remedies which were provided against frauds and cozenage.

The parliament had sat but very little more than ten days, when they presented a bill to his majesty for the repeal of the triennial bill, which he had recommended to them; which[x] was so grateful to him, that he came in person to the house to pass it and to thank them: and he told them, " that " every good Englishman would thank them for it; " for it could only have served to discredit parlia- The triennial bill repealed.

[x] which] and which

1665. "ments, to make the crown jealous of parliaments "and parliaments of the crown, and persuaded "neighbour princes that England was not governed "under a monarch." The truth is: it had passed in a very jealous and seditious time, when the wickedness was first in hatching, that ripened afterwards to a dismal perfection; and when all, who were sworn never to consent to the disherison of the crown, thought only of preserving their own inheritance which they had gotten, or improving it at the expense of the crown; and made it manifest enough, that it should wither, at least while it stood upon the head of that king; for at that time the conspiracy went no further, that is amongst those who had then credit to promote its passage, though they were weak men who thought it could rest there.

Some acts passed.

As they made this entrance, so they were wholly intent upon matters of moment, and despatched all they intended to do within the two months, in which the king desired they would be ready for a prorogation. And as there was greater order and unanimity in their debates, so they despatched more business of public importance and consequence, than any other parliament had done in twice the time: for, besides the repeal of the odious bill before mentioned, they made a very good additional bill for the chimney-money, which made that revenue much more considerable; and they passed likewise another bill against the frequenting of conventicles, which was looked upon as the greatest discountenance the parliament had yet given to all the factions in religion, and if it had been vigorously executed would no doubt have produced a thorough re-

formation. They made likewise a very good act, 1665.
and very necessary for a time of such corruption, that had contracted new ways of dishonesty and villany that former times had not thought of, when many unworthy and cowardly masters of ships and seamen had been contented to be robbed, and to suffer[y] all their owners' goods to be taken, upon an allowance made to them by the pirates; for the discovery and punishment whereof the law had not enough provided. They therefore presented a bill to the king, "for the discovery and punishment of "all such treacherous and infamous actions; and "for the reward of such honest and stout seamen, as "should manfully and courageously defend their "owners' goods, and therein maintain the honour of "the nation."

All this they presented to his majesty, and it[z] was confirmed by his royal assent on the seventeenth of May; when his majesty, after giving such thanks to them as they deserved, told them, "he did not in-"tend to bring them together again till the month "of November, that they might enjoy the summer "in the transaction of their own affairs: yet be-"cause there might some emergent occasion fall "out, that might make him wish to find them to-"gether sooner, he would prorogue them only to "August; and before the day they should have sea-"sonable notice, by proclamation, not to give their "attendance, except such occasion should fall out." And so they were prorogued to a day in August, but met not till November following. The parliament prorogued.

During this short session of parliament, they, who

[y] suffer] *Not in MS.*

[z] it] *Not in MS.*

1665. were very solicitous to promote a war with Holland, forgat not what they had to do; but they quickly discerned that it was not a good season to mention the giving of money, (which the king himself had forborne to mention, that the people might see one session of parliament pass without granting new impositions, which they had not yet seen,) and therefore it would be as unseasonable to speak of a war. However, they made such an approach towards it, as might make a further advance much more easy.

The merchants remonstrate against the Dutch.

The merchants in the committee of trade much lamented the obstructions and discouragements, which they had long found in their commerce by sea with [a] other nations, and which were not removed even by the blessed return of the king; all which they imputed to the pride and insolence of the Hollanders, "who," they said, "observed no laws of commerce, "or any conditions which themselves consented to. "That by their fraud and practice the English were "almost driven out of the East and West Indies, "and had their trade in Turkey and in Africa much "diminished. In sum, that besides many insuffer- "able indignities offered by them to his majesty and "to the crown of England, his subjects had in few "years sustained the damage of seven or eight hun- "dred thousand pounds sterling."

All which with some particular instances being reported from the committee of trade to the house, they had desired an audience from his majesty, and then presented this grievance to him, and desired his majesty, "that he would give such order in it, "as to his wisdom should seem fit, that might pro-

[a] with] and with

"duce just and honourable satisfaction." The king, 1665.
who continued firm to his former resolution, answered them, "that he would transmit the address "they had presented to him to his resident at the "Hague, with order that he should inform the "States of it, and require satisfaction, which he "hoped the States General would yield unto, rather "than compel[b] him to demand justice in another "way." The answer pleased them well, nor could they wish that the prosecution should be put into a better hand than the resident's, who was a member of the house, and a man who had inflamed them more than the merchants themselves against the Dutch.

Character of sir George Downing, the resident in Holland.

That resident was sir George Downing, a man of an obscure birth, and more obscure education, which he had received in part in New England: he had passed through many offices in Cromwell's army, of chaplain, scoutmaster, and other employments, and at last got a very particular credit and confidence with him, and under that countenance married a beautiful lady of a very noble extraction, which was the fate of many bold men in that presumptuous time. And when Cromwell had subdued the Dutch to that temper he wished, and had thereupon made a peace with them, he sent this man to reside as his agent with them, being a man of a proud and insolent spirit, and who[c] would add to any imperious command of his somewhat of the bitterness of his own spirit.

And he did so fully execute his charge in all

[b] than compel] than they compel [c] who] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. things, especially when he might manifest his animosity against the royal party, that when the king himself had once, during his residence at Brussels, for his divertisement made a journey incognito, with not above four persons, to see Amsterdam, and from thence the towns of North Holland; Downing coming to have notice of it delivered a memorial to the States of Holland, wherein he enclosed the third article of their treaty, by which they were obliged "not to suffer any traitor, rebel, or any other per-"son, who was declared an enemy to the common-"wealth of England, to reside or stay in their do-"minions;" and told them, "that Charles Stuart and "the marquis of Ormond had been lately in Am-"sterdam, and were still in some places adjacent;" and required "that they might not be permitted to "remain in any part of their dominions." Whereupon the States of Holland sent presently to the princess royal, who was then at her country house at Hounslerdike, "that if her brother were then "with her or should come to her, he should forth-"with depart out of their province:" and not satisfied herewith, they published an order in the Hague to the same purpose, which was sent to Amsterdam and other towns according to their custom.

With this rude punctuality he behaved himself during the life of Cromwell, and whilst his son retained the usurpation; but when he saw him thrown out with that contempt, and that the government was not like to be settled again till there was a resort to the old foundation, he bethought himself how he might have a reserve of the king's favour. And the marquis of Ormond making about that time a

journey incognito to the Hague, to treat of[d] a mar- 1665.
riage for his eldest son with a noble lady whose friends lived there, Downing found opportunity to have a private conference with him, and made offer of his service to the king, if his devotion might be concealed, without which it would be useless to his majesty. And for an earnest of his fidelity, he informed him of some particulars which were of moment for the king to know: amongst which one was, "that a person, who in respect of his very ho- "nourable extraction, and the present obligations "himself had to the royal family, was not suspected, "gave him, as he had long done, constant intelli- "gence of what the king did, and of many particu- "lars which in their nature deserved to be more se- "cret, which he had always sent to Cromwell whilst "he was living; but since his death, having a reso- "lution to serve the king, he had never disserved "him, and would hereafter give him notice of any "thing that it would be necessary for him[e] to be "informed of with reference to England or to Hol- "land."

The marquis thought it very fit to accept of such an instrument, and promised him "to acquaint his "majesty with his good affection, who he presumed "would receive it graciously, and give him as much "encouragement to continue it as his present condi- "tion would permit." To which the other replied, "that he knew the king's present condition too well "to expect any reward from him: but if his ma- "jesty would vouchsafe, when he should be re-

[d] to treat of] *Omitted in MS.* [e] for him] *Not in MS.*

1665. "stored, to confirm to him the office he then held "of a teller in the exchequer, and continue him in "this employment he then had in Holland, where "he presumed he should be able to do him more "service than a stranger could do, he would think "himself abundantly rewarded." Of all which when the marquis advertised the king at his return to Brussels, he had authority to assure him "of the "king's acceptation, and that all that he expected "should be made good."

This was the ground and reason, that when the king came to the Hague the year following to embark for England, he received Downing so graciously, and knighted him, and left him there as his resident; which they who were near the king, and knew nothing of what had passed, wondered at as much as strangers who had observed his former behaviour. And the States themselves, who would not at such a time of public joy do any thing that might be ingrateful to his majesty, could not forbear to lament in private, "that his majesty would depute a "person to have his authority, who had never used "any other dialect to persuade them to do any thing "he proposed, but threats if they should not do it, "and who at several times had disobliged most of "their persons by his insolence." And from the time of his majesty's departure from thence, he never made those representations which men in those ministeries used to do, but put the worst commentaries upon all their actions. And when he sat afterwards as a member of the house, returning still in the interval of parliament to his employment at the Hague, he took all opportunities to inveigh

against their usurpations in trade; and either did or pretended to know many of their mysteries of iniquity, in opening of which he rendered himself acceptable to the house, though he was a voluminous speaker, which naturally they do not like. 1665.

When this province was committed to him of expostulation for the injuries sustained in several places from the Dutch, he had his wish, and used little modesty in the urging of it. They answered, "that most of the particulars of which he complained were put under oblivion by the late "treaty, and that in consideration thereof they had "yielded to many particulars for the benefit of the "English; and that for the other particulars, they "were likewise by the same treaty referred to a "process in justice, of which they had yet no cause "to complain: nor had there been any action pre-"tended to be committed since the treaty was con-"cluded," which was not many months before, "that "might occasion a misunderstanding." And surely at this time when these things were urged all this was true: but he, according to the method he had been accustomed to[f], insisted upon his own demands; and frequently reproached them with their former submissions to Cromwell, and their present presumptions upon the goodness and generosity of the king. He endeavours to bring on a war.

It is without question, that the States General did, by the standard of their own wariness and circumspection, not suspect that the king did intend to make a war upon them. They well knew the straits and necessities in which his affairs stood, with re-

[f] to] *Not in MS.*

1665. ference to money, and to the several distempers of the nation in matters of religion, which might probably grow more dangerous if there were a foreign war; and concluded, that Downing's importunities and menaces were but the results of his own impetuosity, and that the king would not be solicitous to interrupt and part with his own peace. And therefore their own ships they sent out as they used to do, and those for the coast of Guinea better prepared and stronger than of course. Nor was the royal company less vigilant to carry on that trade, but about the same time sent a stronger fleet of merchants' ships than they had ever before done; and for their better encouragement the king lent them two of his own ships for a convoy.

The insolent behaviour of the Dutch on the coast of Guinea.

And at this time they gave the king an advantage in point of justice, and which concerned all other nations in point of traffick and commerce. It had been begun by them in the East Indies; where they had[g] planted themselves in great and strong towns, and had many harbours well fortified, in which they constantly maintained a great number of good and strong ships; by which they were absolute masters of those seas, and forced the neighbour kings and princes to enter into such terms of amity with them as they thought fit to require. And if they found that any advantageous trade was driven in any port by any other nation, they presently sent their ships to lie before that port, and denounced war against the prince to whom that port belonged; which being done, they published a declaration, "that it should not be lawful for any

[g] they had] after they had

"nation whatsoever to trade in the territories of 1665.
"that prince with whom they then were in war."
And upon this pretence they would not suffer an English ship, belonging to the East India company, to enter into a port to lade and take in a cargason of goods, that had been provided by their factors there before there was any mention or imagination of such a war, and of which there was no other instance of hostility than the very declaration. And at this time they transplanted this new prerogative to Guinea: and having, as they said, for there was no other evidence of it, a war with one of those princes, they would not suffer the English ships to enter into those harbours where they had always traded. The king received animadversion of this unheard of insolence and usurpation, and added this more just complaint to the former, and required his resident "to demand a positive renunciation of all "pretence to such an odious usurpation, and a revo-"cation of those orders which their officers had "published." To this complaint and demand they deferred to make answer, till their ambassador had presented a grievance to the king.

An English captain seizes a Dutch fort on the coast of Africa.

One of those ships of war, which the king had lent to the royal company for the convoy of their fleet to Guinea, had in the voyage thither assaulted and taken a fort belonging to the Dutch near Cape Verde; which was of more incommodity to them than of benefit to the English. Of this invasion their ambassador made a loud complaint, and demanded, "that the captain might be punished se-"verely; and in the mean time that the king would "give a present order to him, the ambassador, for "the redelivery of the place and all that was in it,

1665. "and he would send it to his masters, who would "forthwith send a ship to demand it." The king had in truth heard nothing of it; and assured the ambassador, "that the captain, if he had done any "such thing, had not the least commission or au- "thority for the doing it; and that he was sure he "was upon his way homeward, so that he might be "expected speedily; and then he should be sure to "undergo such punishment as the nature of his "offence required, when the matter should be ex- "amined, and they should then receive full repara- "tion." This answer, how reasonable soever, satisfied them not: nothing would serve their [h] turn but a present restitution, before his majesty could be informed of the provocation or ground that had produced so unwarrantable an action. They gave present orders for the equipping a very great fleet, and the raising many land soldiers, making greater preparations for war than they had made in many years before. They likewise prepared a strong fleet for Guinea, and granted a commission (which was published in print) to the commander in chief, "to "make war upon the English in those parts, and to "do them all the mischief he [i] could."

The Dutch prepare a strong fleet for Guinea.

Prince Rupert, who had been heretofore with the fleet then under his command, in the beginning of the king's reign, upon the coast of Guinea, (and by the report and testimony he gave of that coast the royal company had received greater [k] encouragement,) now [l] upon this insolent demeanour of the Dutch, and publishing the commission they had sent

[h] their] *Not in MS.*
[i] he] they
[k] greater] great
[l] now] and now

to their commander in chief, offered [m] his service to the king, "to sail into those parts with such a fleet "as his majesty thought fit to send, with which he "made little doubt to secure trade, and abate the "presumption of the Dutch." And hereupon a fleet was likewise preparing for that purpose, to be commanded by prince Rupert. 1665. The English prepare one likewise.

The parliament had before declared, when they made their address to the king against the Dutch for obstructing the trade, "that they would with "their lives and fortunes assist his majesty against "all oppositions whatsoever, which he should meet "with in the removal of those obstructions;" which they believed would terrify, but in truth made the Dutch merry: and in some of their declarations or answers to Downing's memorials, they mentioned it with too much pride and contempt. And in this posture the disputes were when the parliament met again in November, which came together for the most part without a desire either to give money or make war. And Downing, who laboured heartily to incense us and to provoke them, in all his despatches declared, "that all those insolences pro-"ceeded only from the malignity of the States of "Holland, which could vent itself no further than "in words; but that the States General, without "whose concurrence no war could be made, abhor-"red the thought of it:" and there is no doubt that was true. And the Dutch ambassador, who remained at London, and was a very honest weak man, and did all the offices he could to prevent it, did not think it possible it could come to pass; "and The parliament meets.

[m] offered] he offered

1665. "that there might be some scuffles upon the coast of "Guinea, by the direction of the West India com- "pany, of whose actions the States General took no- "tice, but would cause justice to be done upon "complaint, and not suffer the public peace to be "disturbed upon their pretences." And so the king forbore to demand any supply from the parliament, because an ordinary supply would rather discredit his demands than advance them, and he could not expect an extraordinary supply but when the war was unquestionable. And the States General at this time were made a property by the States of Holland, (who had given private orders for their own concernments,) and presented an humble desire to the king by their ambassador, "that prince Rupert's fleet might stay in harbour, "as theirs likewise that was prepared for Guinea "should do, till some means might be found for "the accommodation of all differences." Whereas before they pretended, that they would send their Guinea fleet through the Channel, convoyed by their admiral with a fleet of fifty sail; which report had before stopped prince Rupert, when he was under sail for Guinea, to wait and expect that piece of bravery. But this address from the States General made all men believe there would be an accommodation, without so much as any hostility in Guinea.

The treacherous behaviour of the Dutch.

But it was quickly discovered, that they were the honester men when they gave the worst words. For before the States General sent to the king to stop prince Rupert in harbour, "and that their "fleets should likewise remain in their harbours," the States of Holland, or that committee that was

qualified by them, had with great privacy sent orders to De Ruyter, who was in the Mediterranean, "to "make all possible haste with his fleet to go to the "coast of Guinea, and not only to retake the fort near "Cape Verde that the English had taken from them, "but likewise to take what places he could which "were in possession of the English, and to do them "what damage he could in those parts:" so that they might well offer that their fleet should now remain in their harbours in Holland. 1665.

When De Ruyter had been sent into the Mediterranean, the pretence was, that it was against the pirates of Algiers and Tunis, who had in truth preyed very much upon the Dutch, taken very many of their ships, and had abundance of their subjects in chains. And when that fleet was sent into the Mediterranean, their ambassador had desired the king, "that his majesty's fleet that was then in those "parts might upon all occasions join with De Ruy-"ter, when opportunity should be offered thereby "to infest the Turks;" which the king consented to, and sent orders accordingly. But the Dutch had no such purpose: his business was to ransom their captives with money, and not to exact the delivery of them by force; and to make an accommodation for the time to come as well as he could. And when the English fleet was at any time in pursuit of any of the Turks' vessels, and expected that the Dutch, by whom they must pass, would have given a little stop to their flight, which they might easily have done; they rather assisted than obstructed their escape. And having made a very dishonourable peace with the pirates, he made haste to prosecute his orders for the coast of Guinea.

1665. As soon as the king knew of this impudent affront, and that De Ruyter was in truth gone out of the Mediterranean, he thought he might justly seize upon any ships of theirs, to satisfy the damage that he could not but sustain by De Ruyter in Guinea: and so, it being the season of the year that the Dutch fleet returned with their wines from Bourdeaux, Rochelle, and other parts of France, such of them as were forced by the weather to put into the English harbours were seized upon. And the duke of York, having put himself on board with a fleet of about fifty sail, upon the report of the Dutch being come out to defend their ships, took many others, even upon their own coasts; which they chose rather to suffer, than to venture out of their ports to relieve them. However, there was not any one of all those ships suffered to be unladen, or any prejudice done to them; but they were all preserved unhurt, till notice might arrive from Guinea what De Ruyter had done there. But undoubted intelligence arrived in a very short time after, that De Ruyter had declared and begun the war upon the coast of Africa, not only by a forcible retaking the fort which had been taken from them, and which his majesty had offered to deliver, but by seizing upon several English ships in those parts, and by assaulting and taking other his majesty's forts and places, and exercising all the acts of hostility which his commission authorized him [n] to do.

Upon which their ships are seized.

The Dutch commence hostilities in Guinea.

They refuse to deliver the island of Poleroone.

And, in a very short time after, the East India company complained and informed the king, "that "when their officer had demanded the redelivery of

[n] him] *Omitted in MS.*

"the[o] isle of Poleroone according to the article of 1665.
"the late treaty, and delivered the letters and or-
"ders from the States General and States of Hol-
"land, which their ambassadors had given at Lon-
"don, to the governor and captain of that island;
"he[o], after making him stay two or three days
"there with his ship and the men he had brought
"with him, told him, that upon a better perusal of
"the orders which he had brought, he found that
"they were not sufficient; and therefore till he
"should receive fuller orders, he could not give up
"the place." And so the officer and ship, which had been sent at a great charge, were[p] necessitated to return without any other[q] effect than the affront and indignity to his majesty.

When there was now no remedy, and the war was actually made upon the king upon what provocation soever, there was nothing to be done but to resort to the parliament, which had been so earnest to enter into it. A fleet must be prepared equal to what the Dutch would infallibly make ready against the spring, and worthy of the presence of the duke of York, who was impatient to engage his own person in the conduct of it; and the king had given his promise to him that he should, when he had, God knows, no purpose that there should be a war. It was quickly[r] discovered, that there was not the same alacrity towards a war now, after it was begun, in the parliament, as there had been when they made their vote: and they would have been glad that any expedient might have been found for

[o] he] who
[p] were] was
[q] other] *Not in MS.*
[r] quickly] now quickly

1665. a reconciliation, and that the captain might have been called in question, who first gave offence by taking the fort from the Dutch near Cape Verde, which some had pressed for when he came home, before any more mischief was[u] done; and the not calling him in question made many believe, that he had done nothing without warrant or promise of protection.

The Dutch still disclaimed all thought or purpose of war, and seemed highly offended with their governor of Poleroone, and protested, "that the not-"delivery of the place proceeded only from want of "an order from the governor of Batavia, which or-"der came the next day after the English ship was "departed: but that they had given notice of it to "the English factory at Bantam, that the same or "another English ship might return and receive it; "and they were confident that it was then in the "hand of the English." But it was now too late to expect any honourable peace, at least without making very notable preparations for a war, which could[x] not be done without ready money. And whatever orders had been given for the preservation of the Dutch ships, it quickly appeared that much of them had been embezzled or disposed of, before they were brought to any judicatory, or adjudged to be prize; and there was too much cause to fear, that the rest would be disposed of to other purposes than the support of the war; though nothing was more positively spoken, than that the war would maintain itself.

The parliament still promised fairly, and entered

[u] was] *Omitted in MS.* [x] could] *Omitted in MS.*

upon consultation how and what money to raise: 1665.
And now the king commanded the chancellor and the treasurer to meet with those members of the house of commons, with whom they had used to consult, and to whom the king had joined others upon whom he was told he might more depend, and to adjust together what sum should be proposed, and how and in what manner to propose and conduct it. It was about the month of January. And though the duke took indefatigable pains, by going himself sometimes to Portsmouth and sometimes to Chatham, to cause the ships and all provisions to be ready, that he might be at sea before the Dutch; yet let what advance could be made, as indeed there was great, nothing could be said to be done, till a great stock of ready money could be provided; and it would be long after the parliament had done their part, before ready money would be got; and therefore no more time must be lost, without taking a particular resolution.

Measures taken to dispose the parliament to grant supplies for a war.

The meeting of those persons the king appointed was at Worcester-house, where the chancellor and treasurer (who were known to be averse from the war) told the rest, "that there was no more debate "now to be, war or no war: it was come upon us, "and we were now only to contrive the best way of "carrying it on with success; which could only be "done by raising a great present sum of money, "that the enemy might see that we were prepared "to continue it as well as to begin." They who were most desirous of the war, as sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, (who were in truth the men who brought it upon the nation,) with their friends, were of the opinion, "that there should not be a great

A meeting of some lords and principal commoners for that purpose.

1665. "sum demanded at present, but only so much as "might carry out the fleet in the spring, and that[y] "sufficient provisions might be made for the sum- "mer service: and then, when the war was once "thoroughly entered into, another and a better sup- "ply might be gotten about Michaelmas, when "there was reason to hope, that some good success "would dispose all men to a frank prosecution of "the war." Whereas these gentlemen had hitherto inflamed the king with an assurance, "that he "could not ask more money of the parliament than "they would readily give him, if he would be en- "gaged in this war which the whole kingdom so "much desired."

The chancellor and the treasurer were of opinion, "that the house of commons could never be in a "better disposition to give, than they were at pre- "sent; that hereafter they might grow weary, and "apt to find fault with the conduct, especially when "they found the country not so well pleased with "the war as they were now conceived to be: where- "as, now the war was begun, and the king engaged "in it as much as he could be after ten battles, and "all upon their desire, and their promise; they "could not refuse to give any thing proposed with- "in the compass of that reason, which all under- "standing men might examine and judge of. That "it was evident enough, that the true ground of all "the confidence the Dutch had was from their opin- "ion of the king's necessities and want of money, "and their belief that the parliament would supply "him very sparingly, and not long to continue such

[y] that] *Not in MS.*

" an expense, as they very well knew that a war at 1665.
" sea would require: and they would be much con-
" firmed in this their imagination, if at the begin-
" ning they should see the parliament give him such
" a sum of money, as seemed to be implied by what
" had been said. That they therefore thought it
" absolutely necessary, that the king should propose
" as much, that is, that his friends should move for
" such a sum, as might upon a reasonable computa-
" tion, which every man would be ready to make,
" and of which wise men upon experience would ea-
" sily make an estimate, carry on the war for a full
" year; that is, for the setting out the present fleet
" and paying it off upon its return, and for the set-
" ting out another fleet the next spring. If this were
" now done, his majesty would not be involved in
" importunate necessities the next winter; but he
" might calmly and deliberately consult upon such
" further supplies, as the experience of what would
" be then past should suggest to be necessary: and
" that this would give his majesty such a reputation
" with all his neighbours, and such terror to his
" enemies, that it would probably dispose them to
" peace."

They told them, " the best method to compute
" what the expense might amount to in a year,
" would be by reflecting upon the vast disproportion
" of the charge we were now already engaged in,
" and what had been estimated four months since,
" when the war was designed. That it was well
" known to Mr. Coventry, who had been always
" present at those conferences, that it had been said
" by the most experienced sea-officers, and those
" who had fought all the late battles against the

1665. "Dutch, that a fleet of forty or fifty such ships, as "the king's were, would be strength sufficient to "beat all the ships the Dutch had out of the narrow "seas; and one very eminent man amongst them "said, he would not desire above fifty ships to fight "with all they had, and that he was confident "that a greater number than fifty could never "be brought to fight orderly or usefully: and yet "that there were at present no fewer than four-"score good ships preparing for the duke. And "the charge in many other particulars appeared al-"ready to amount to double the sum that was first "computed."

They concluded, "that a less sum than two mil-"lions and a half" (which is five and twenty hundred thousand pounds sterling) "ought not to be "proposed, and being once proposed ought to be in-"sisted on and pursued without consenting to any "diminution; for nobody could conceive that it "would do more than maintain the war one year, "which the parliament could not refuse to provide "for in the beginning, as there was[a] so much in "truth of it already expended in the preparations "and expedition the duke had made in November, "when he went to sea upon the fame of the Dutch "fleet's intention to convoy their Guinea ships "through the channel."

There was not a man in the company, who did not heartily wish that that sum or a greater might be proposed and granted: but they all, though they agreed in few other things, protested, "that they "could not advise that so prodigious a sum should

[a] as there was] and there being already

"be as much as named; and that they did not 1665.
"know any one man, since it could not be thought
"fit that any man who had relation to the king's
"service should move it, who had the courage to
"attempt it, or would be persuaded to it."

The two lords continued very obstinate, "that a "less sum should not be named for the reasons they "had given," which the other confessed to be just; and they acknowledged too, "that the proposition "ought not to be made by any man who was[b] re-"lated to the court, or was thought to be in any "grace there that might dispose him, nor yet by "any gentleman, how well soever thought of, who "was of a small estate, and so to pay little of so "great a sum he was so liberal to give." They therefore desired them "to name some of those "members, who were honest worthy men, and "looked upon as lovers of their country, and of "great fortunes, unsuspected to have any designs "at court; and if they were not enough acquainted "with them, the lords would find some way by "themselves or others to move them to it." Whereupon they named five or six persons very well known, of whom the house had a very good esteem, but without any hope that any[c] of them would be prevailed with to undertake it. The lords said, "they would try what might be done, and give "them notice the next day, that if it were possible "it might be the business of the following day."

The chancellor and the treasurer chose three Norfolk gentlemen of those who had been named, because they were good friends and grateful to each

[b] was] *Omitted in MS.* [c] any] either

1665. other, and desired them the next day "that they "might confer together." They told them, "they "knew well the state of affairs; the parliament had "engaged the king in a war, that could not be car- "ried on without a vast expense: and therefore if "at the entrance into it there should be a small or "an ordinary supply given, it would blast all their "hopes, and startle all other princes from joining, "with whom the Dutch were not in favour, and "who would be inclined to the king, if they saw "such a provision for the war as would be sufficient "to continue it for some time. And therefore they "desired to confer with them, who upon all occa- "sions manifested good affections to the king, and "whose advice had a great influence upon the house, "upon the whole matter how it might be conduct- "ed." They all consented to what had been said, and promised their own concurrence and utmost endeavours to compass what the king should desire. The lords said, "they promised themselves more "from them, and that they would not only concur, "but propose what should be necessary to be grant- "ed." And thereupon they enlarged upon the charge which was already in view, and upon what was to be expected, and concluded "that two mil- "lions and a half were necessary to be insisted on;" and desired, "that when the debate should be en- "tered upon, which they hoped might be the next "day, one of them would propose this sum and the "other would second it."

They looked long one upon another, as if they were surprised with the sum. At last one of them said, "that the reasons were unanswerable for a li- "beral supply; yet he did not expect that so prodi-

"gious a sum, which he believed had never yet 1665.
"been mentioned in parliament to be granted at
"one time, would be proposed: however, he did
"not think it too much, and that he would do the
"best he could to answer any objections which
"should be made against it, as he doubted many
"would; but he confessed he durst not propose it."
Another was of the same mind, and with many good professions desired to be excused as to the first proposing it. The third, who was sir Robert Paston, a person of a much greater estate than both the other, who had yet very good fortunes, and a gentleman of a very ancient extraction by his father, (and his mother was daughter to the earl of Lindsey,) declared very frankly, "that he was satisfied in his "conscience, that it would be very good for the "kingdom as well as for the king that such a sum "should be granted: and therefore if they thought "him fit to do it, he would propose it the next "morning, let other men think what they would of "him for it."

The lords gave him the thanks they ought to do, and said what was necessary to confirm him, and to thank the other gentlemen for their promise to second him, and gave notice to the rest of the resolution, that they might call for the debate the next day; which was entered into with a general cheerfulness, every man acknowledging the necessity and the engagement of the house, but no man adventuring to name the proportion that should be given. When the house was in a deep silence expecting that motion, sir Robert Paston, who was no frequent speaker, but delivered what he had a mind to say very clearly, stood up, mentioned shortly the

Sir Robert Paston moves for a supply of 2,500,000*l.*

1665. obligation, the charge of the war, and "that the "present supply ought to be such as might as well "terrify the enemy as assist the king;,and therefore "he proposed that they might give his majesty two "millions and a half, which would amount to five "and twenty hundred thousand pounds." The silence of the house was not broken; they sat as in amazement, until a gentleman, who was believed to wish well to the king, without taking notice of what had been proposed, stood up, and moved that they might give the king a much less proportion. But then the two others, who had promised to second, renewed the motion one after the other; which seemed to be entertained with a consent of many, and was contradicted by none: so that, after a short pause, no man who had relation to the court speaking a word, the speaker put it to the question, "whether they would give the king five and twenty "hundred thousand pounds for the carrying on the "war against the Dutch;" and the affirmative made a good sound, and very few gave their negative aloud, and it was notorious very many sat silent. So the vote was presently drawn up into an order; and the house resolved the next day to be in a committee, to agree upon the way that should be taken for the raising this vast sum, the proportion whereof could no more be brought into debate.

Which is agreed to by the house.

This brave vote gave the king the first liking of the war: it was above what he had expected or indeed wished to be proposed. And they, who had been at the first conference, and delivered the resolution of the two lords as impossible to be compassed, not without insinuation as if it were affected only to indispose the house to the war, (yet they did

not think fit to vary from the proportion, till they saw the success of the proposition, which the lords were engaged to procure a fit person to make,) when they found the conclusion to be such as could be wished, they commended the counsel, and fell into another extreme, that in the thing itself and in the consequence did very much harm; which shall be next mentioned, after I have said that there appeared great joy and exaltation of spirit upon this vote, and not more in the court than upon the exchange, the merchants generally being unskilfully inclined to that war, above what their true interest could invite them to; as in a short time afterwards they had cause to confess. 1665.

The king sent to the lord mayor to call a common council, and commanded the chancellor, treasurer, and other lords of his council, to go thither; who, upon the credit of this vote of the house of commons for this noble supply, prevailed with the city presently to furnish the king with the loan of two hundred thousand pounds; which being within few days paid into the hands of the treasurer of the navy, all preparations for the fleet, and of whatever else was necessary for the expedition, were provided with marvellous alacrity: and the parliament made what haste was possible to despatch the bill, by which their great present might be collected from the people.

It hath been said before, that in most vacant places, upon the death of any members, ways were found out to procure some of the king's domestic servants to be [d] elected in their places; so that his

[d] to be] *Not in MS.*

1665. majesty had many voices there at his devotion; which did not advance his service. These men confidently ran out of the house still to inform the king of what was doing, commended this man, and discommended another who deserved better; and would many times, when his majesty spake well of any man, ask his majesty "if he would give them "leave to let that person know how gracious his "majesty was to him, or to bring him to kiss his "hand." To which he commonly consenting, every one of his servants delivered some message from him to a parliament-man, and invited him to court as if the king would be willing to see him. And by this means the rooms at court, where the king was, were always full of the members of the house of commons; this man brought to kiss his hand, and the king induced to confer with that man, and to thank him for his affection, which never could conclude without some general expression of grace or promise, which the poor gentleman always interpreted to his own advantage, and expected some fruit from it that it could never yield: all which, being contrary to all former order, did the king no good, and rendered those unable to do him service who were inclined to it.

Sir H. Bennet and sir C. Berkley caress and amuse sir R. Paston.

The new secretary, and sir Charles Berkley, who by this time was entered very far into the king's favour and his confidence, were the chief, and by their places had access to him in all places and hours: and they much disliked the officiousness of the others, as if they presumed to invade their province. They thought it but their due, that the king should take his measures of the house of commons by no other report but theirs, nor dispense his graces

there through any other conduit. They took this occasion to caress sir Robert Paston, who was a stranger to them, and to magnify the service he had done the king, and the great sense the king had of it, and that he[e] did long to give him his own thanks: they invited him to come to the court, and sir Charles Berkley told him as from the king, "that "his majesty resolved to make him a baron." And by these daily courtships and importunities the gentleman, who was well satisfied with what he had done, and never proposed any advantage to himself from it, was amused, and thought he was not to refuse any honour the king thought him worthy of, nor to neglect those graces which were offered to him by persons of their interest. Yet he made not haste to go to the court, believing that it might make him less capable of serving the king, and that any favour his majesty should do him would be more seasonable hereafter than at present, lest he might be thought to have made that motion in the house upon promise of the other reward. Yet after continued invitations he went thither, and those gentlemen presented him to the king, who spake very graciously to him, told him, "he had done him great "service, which he would never forget," and many other princely expressions, and "that he should be "glad to see him often," but no particular to that purpose which had been mentioned to him. 1665.

When he went next, he found his majesty's countenance the same: but they, who had courted and amused him so much, grew every day more dry and reserved towards him; of which he complained to a

[e] that he] *Not in MS.*

1665. friend of his who he knew had interest in the chancellor, and desired him to acquaint him with all that had passed, who had not till then heard that he had been at court, and when he was informed of the whole relation was very much troubled, well knowing, that how acceptable soever those kinds of courtships were for few days, they were attended with many inconveniences when the end was not correspondent with the beginning. He knew well the resolution the king had taken to create no more noblemen, the number whereof already too much exceeded: however, he was very sorry, that a person of that quality and merit should be exposed to any indignity, for having endeavoured in such a conjuncture to do his majesty a signal service, and succeeded so well; and spake with the king at large of it, and gave his majesty a full account of the modesty and temper of the gentleman, of his quality and interest, and what had been said and promised to him. The king was troubled, owned all that he had said himself to him, as being very hearty, and "that he would never forget the service he had "done, but requite it upon any opportunity;" but protested, "that he had never made any such pro-"mise, nor given sir Charles Berkley any authority "to mention any such thing to him, which would "prove very inconvenient;" and therefore wished, "that his friend would divert him from prosecuting "such a pretence, which he knew to be contrary to "his resolution."

The chancellor knew not what to say, but truly advertised his friend of all the king had said, who again informed sir Robert Paston, who thought himself very hardly treated, and went to sir Charles

Berkley, who had not the same open arms, yet assured him, "that he had said nothing to him but by "the king's direction, which he must aver. That he "did not use to interpose or move the king in any "of his affairs: but if he would desire the chancel- "lor to take notice of it, who he knew had a great "affection for him, and upon whose desire he had "performed that great service, he was confident it "would be attended with the success he wished, to "which he would contribute all his endeavours;" intimating, "that if he had not what he desired, he "might impute it to the chancellor." Upon which sir Robert, who was well assured of the chancellor's kindness, concluded that his court friends had deluded him, or expected money, which he would not give: and so the matter ended with prejudice to the king. 1665.

Notwithstanding these and the like very inconvenient activities, which lost more friends than were gotten by them, the noise of this stupendous supply, given to the king at one time, made good impressions upon all who had any affections for the king, and was wondered at in those places where money was most plenty. In Holland it wrought even to consternation, and the common people cried aloud for peace, and the States pretended to have great hope as well as desire of it, and sent their ambassador, who remained still in England, new orders to solicit it.

The condition of England in respect to its neighbours.

In the mean time the king neglected not to apply what endeavours he could use, to dispose his allies to act such parts as their own interest might reasonably invite them to. From France he expected only neutrality, by reason he knew he had renewed

1665. the alliance with the States; but never suspected, that it was in such a manner as would hinder the neutrality. Spain could do little good or harm, nor durst it to engage against Holland: yet all was done that was necessary towards a good correspondence with it. The two northern kings would find themselves concerned, at least to wish better to one side than to the other; and had been both so disobliged by the Dutch, that had it not been for the irreconcileable jealousy they had of each other, they might have been united to the interest of England. But Denmark had in the late war given what they could not keep nor recover, and yet could hardly be without; and Sweden looked with too much contempt upon the weakness and unactivity of their neighbour, to give back any thing they had got: and this restrained them both from provoking an enemy that might give strength to the other.

Yet Denmark had the year before by Hannibal Zested, who went ambassador into France and made England his way, made many complaints to the king "of the oppression the crown of Denmark un-"derwent by the Dutch, and the resolution it had "to shake off that yoke as soon as an opportunity "should be offered;" and made a request to the king, "that he would endeavour to make the alliance so "fast between Denmark and Sweden, that the jea-"lousy of each other might hinder neither of them "from doing any thing that was for their own in-"terest, without prejudice to the other." And when the difficulty was alleged, in regard that Sweden would never be persuaded to part with Elsineur, and those other places which had been given up in the late treaty; Hannibal Zested consented that

what was done in that treaty should be again confirmed, and said "his master was willing and desirous that the king of England should undertake and be caution for the observation of this treaty;" implying, "that if this were done, and thereby the fear of any further attempt from Sweden were extinguished, Denmark would not be long without redeeming itself from the vexation which it endured from Holland, which, upon former necessities and ill bargains, upon the matter had an exemption from paying all duties upon their own great trade through the Sound, as much to the prejudice of all other princes as of the poor crown of Denmark." This having so lately passed from a minister of that crown, the king thought it a good time to endeavour to do that office between the two crowns, and thereby to unite them both to the king in this conjunction against the Dutch; at least that they might both remain good friends to his majesty, and supply him with all those provisions without which his navy could not be supported, and as far as was possible restrain the Dutch from those supplies, by making such large contracts with the English, that there would not be enough left for the other. 1665.

Ambassadors sent to Denmark and Sweden.

Upon this ground he sent Mr. Henry Coventry of his bedchamber to the Swede, whose friendship he much more valued as more able to assist him, and upon whose word he could more firmly depend. And to Denmark he sent sir Gilbert Talbot, who was acceptable to that crown by his having performed many offices of respect to the prince of Denmark, when he had been incognito in England,

1665. and waited upon him[f] to several parts of the kingdom which he had a mind to see, and so caused him to be entertained in several gentlemen's houses in his journey, of which the prince seemed very sensible when he departed. That which was expected from that negociation, except the confidence could be created between the two crowns, was only to preserve Denmark a friend, that he might not favour the Dutch, and might recall all his subjects out of their service; and that we might have the same freedom of trade, and the security of his ports for our men of war.

Proposals made by the bishop of Munster for an alliance against the Dutch.

Whilst the king took this care for the advancement of his affairs abroad, there was an advantage offered him, that looked as if it came from Heaven: There came one day a gentleman, who looked rather like a carter, who spoke ill English, and desired that he might have a private audience with the chancellor; who presently sent for him, and in a short time knew him to be a Benedictine monk, who had been sometimes with him at Cologne, and belonged to the English abbey at Lamspring in Westphalia, where a very reverend person of the family of Gascoigne in Yorkshire was abbot, with whom the chancellor had much acquaintance, and esteemed him very much; and he had, during the time the king stayed in Cologne, sent this monk several times thither, who was likewise a gentleman, but by living long in Germany had almost forgot the language as well as the manners of his own country. His business now was to deliver him a letter (whereof he knew little of the contents) from the bishop of Munster, upon the

[f] him] *Not in MS.*

edge of whose dominions that English abbey was seated, which had likewise a territory that extended to the principality of the other, and received much favour and protection from the other; who desired the abbot to give him an honest man, that would carry a letter from him to the court of England: upon which this monk was deputed, the rather because he was known to the chancellor. The matter of the letter was no more, than "that if the war "against Holland was to be resolutely prosecuted "by the king of England, he (the bishop) conceived "that a conjunction with those allies, who could "infest the Dutch by land as his majesty would do "by sea, might not be unacceptable to his majesty; "and in that case, upon the answer to this letter, "he would send a fit person to make some proposi- "tions to the king and to treat with him." The instructions the monk had, were "to make all pos- "sible haste back, and that as soon as he returned "on that side the sea, he should send the answer he "had received, by the post, so directed as was ap- "pointed; and then that himself should stay at "Brussels till he received further orders." 1665.

The chancellor quickly informed the king of this despatch, to whom the monk was likewise known; and his majesty immediately assembled those lords with whom he consulted in the most secret cases. Every body knew so much of the bishop of Munster, that he was a warlike prince, having had command in armies before he dedicated himself to the church, and that he had a great animosity against Holland, which had disobliged him in the highest point, by encouraging his subjects to rebel against him, and those of his city of Munster to

1665. shut their gates against him: and when he endeavoured to reduce them by force, and to that purpose had besieged them with his army, the Dutch sent an army to relieve it, and declared that they would protect that city. And by this means, and by the mediation of the neighbour princes, who had no mind that the peace of their country should be disturbed by such an incursion, the bishop was hindered from taking that vengeance upon his rebel subjects which he intended, and compelled to accept of such conditions as did not please him. And all this was but two years before, and boiled still in his breast, that was naturally very hot. But he was a poor prince, unable to give any disturbance to the United Provinces, whose dominions extended within a day's march of his. However, every man was of opinion, that the proposition ought to be very kindly received, and the bishop invited to send his agent. And to that purpose the chancellor wrote to him, and the monk was despatched the next day. And having observed his orders in sending away the answer, he was very few days at Brussels, when a servant of the bishop arrived with orders that the monk should accompany him back into England: and so they both arrived in London in less time than could be expected.

The gentleman who came from the bishop was a very proper man, well-bred, a baron of that country, but a subject to the bishop: he brought with him a letter of credit from the bishop to the king, and full authority to treat and conclude according to his instructions, which he likewise presented to his majesty. He brought likewise a letter to the chancellor from the elector of Mentz, in which he recom-

mended to him the person whom the bishop of Mun- 1665.
ster should send, and declared "that he believed "the bishop of Munster would be able to perform "whatsoever he should undertake:" which letter was a very great encouragement to the king: for his majesty knew the elector of Mentz very well to be a very wise prince and notoriously his friend, and that he would not say so much of the ability of the bishop to perform, except he knew particularly his design, and what he would undertake to do.

The baron's instructions were to propose, "that "his majesty would cause one hundred thousand "pounds to be immediately paid, by bills of ex- "change at Hamburgh or Cologne or Francfort, to "such persons as the bishop should appoint to re- "ceive it; and should promise to pay fifty thou- "sand pounds by the month in the same places "for three months to come: afterwards he hoped "the army would provide for its own support. This "being undertaken on his majesty's part, the bishop "would be engaged, within one month after the "first bills of exchange for the one hundred thousand "pounds should be delivered into the hands of his "agent the baron, that he would be in the dominions "of the States General with an army of sixteen "thousand foot and four thousand horse; with "which he was very confident he should within few "days be possessed of Arnheim, and shortly after "of Utrecht: and if the king's fleet came before "Amsterdam, that army of the bishop should march "to what place or quarter his majesty should "direct."

The baron was asked, "how it could be possible "for the bishop, though a gallant prince and very

1665. "active, to draw together such an army in so short "a time out of his small province; and how he was "sure that his neighbours, who two years before "had compelled him to make so disadvantageous a "peace with the Dutch, would not again use the "same violent importunity to obstruct his proceed-"ings." To which he answered, "that the bishop "would never undertake to bring such an army to-"gether in so short a time, in which they could not "be levied, but that he knows they are already le-"vied, and upon an assurance of money can be "brought together in the short time proposed: for "the other, the interposition of his neighbours, he "had not then, when they prevailed, half that army "which he was sure he should now have; besides, "those neighbours were now as much incensed "against the Dutch as his master was, and would "all engage with him against them; and that "many of the army that is designed were at "present quartered in their dominions; and that "the bishop intended not to march in his own pri-"vate capacity, but as general of the empire, for "which the elector of Mentz had undertaken to "procure him a commission." He was demanded "how his master stood with France, and whether "he did not fear that it would either prevent the "enterprise by mediation, or disappoint it by send-"ing aid to Holland." He answered, "his mas-"ter was confident France would not do him any "harm: that he had sent an agent, from whom he "should be sure to receive letters by every post." And within few days after, he shewed a letter that he had received from that agent, in which he said, "that Monsieur de Lionne bade him assure the bi-

" shop, that his Christian majesty would do nothing 1665.
"to his prejudice."

This being the state of that affair, the king considered what he was to do. The propositions made by the bishop were such, as it was not possible for him to comply with. But then it was presumed by every body, that very much would be abated of the money that was demanded: for it was not an auxiliary army that was to be raised for the king's service, whose conquests were to be applied to his benefit, but an army raised to revenge the injuries which himself had received, and what he should get must be to his own account; and his majesty's hostility at sea would as much facilitate his enterprise at land, as the marching of his army might probably disturb and distract their preparations for the sea. Yet it could not be expected, that the bishop could draw this army together (and the attempt was not to be made with less force) without a good supply of money, nor keep it together without pay.

The advantage, that would with God's blessing attend this conjunction, spread itself to a very large prospect. That the people generally in the provinces were very unsatisfied with this war, was a thing notorious; and that the province of Holland which began it, and was entirely governed by De Wit, did even compel the other provinces to concur with them, partly upon hope that a further progress would be prevented by treaty, or that a peace would follow upon the first engagement. But when they should see an army of twenty thousand men, which they suspected not, to invade their country at land, and in that part where they were most secure, and from whence so much of their necessary provisions

1665. were daily brought; they must be in great consternation, and draw all their land army together, which they had not done in near twenty years, and could not be done to any effect without vast charge, which would put the people into a loud distraction. Finally, there was great reason to cherish the design: and therefore the king resolved by an unanimous advice to undertake any thing towards it, that could be in his power to perform.

There was one difficulty occurred, that had not been thought of nor so much as apprehended by the baron, which was the return of the money, whatsoever should be assigned to that service; for of the three places proposed by him, besides the secrecy that was requisite, all the trade of London could not assign one thousand pounds in the month to be paid upon Cologne and Francfort; nor could Hamburgh itself be charged with twenty thousand pounds in three months' time: which when the agent knew, he seemed amazed, and said, "they had believed "that it had been as easy to have transmitted "money to those three towns, as it was for them "to receive it from thence."

In conclusion, the king gave his answer in writing, what sum of money he would cause to be paid at once for the first advance, that the bishop might begin his march, and what he would afterwards cause to be paid by the month; which being less than the baron's instructions would admit him to accept, he sent an express with it to the bishop: and "till his return," he desired, "that the king "would appoint some person of experience to confer "with him; and they might together inform themselves of the best expedients to return money into

"Germany, since his majesty had hitherto only un- 1665.
"dertaken to pay his assignations in London." What success this treaty afterwards had will be related in its place.

These advantages from abroad being in this manner deliberated and designed, it may be very seasonable to look back, and consider what preparations were made at home towards the carrying on [f] this war, for which the parliament had provided so bountifully: and if ordinary prudence had been applied to the managery, if any order and method had been consulted and steadily pursued for the conducting the whole, the success would have been answerable, and at least any inconvenience from the sudden want of money would have been prevented. But whoever was at any near [g] distance in that time when those transactions were in agitation, as there are yet many worthy men who were, or shall be able to procure a sincere information of the occurrences of that time, will be obliged to confess, that they who contrived the war had the entire conducting it, and were the sole causes of all the ill effects of it; which cannot be set down particularly without wounding those, who were by their confidence in ill instruments made accessary to those mischiefs, in which themselves suffered most. Nor is it the end of this true relation to fix a brand upon the memory of those, who deserve it from the public and from very many worthy men, but is to serve only for a memorial to cast my own eyes upon, when I cannot but reflect upon those proceedings; and by my consent shall never come into any hands but

[f] on] *Omitted in MS.* [g] near] *Not in MS.*

1665. theirs, who for their own sakes will take care to preserve it from any public view or perusal.

The state of the navy from the king's restoration.

It cannot be denied and may very truly be averred, that from the hour of the king's return, and being possessed of the entire government, the naval affairs were never put into any order. That province, being committed to the duke as lord high admiral of England, was entirely [h] engrossed by his servants, in truth by Mr. Coventry, who was newly made his secretary, and who made use of his other servants, who were better known to him, to infuse into his highness the opinion, "that whoever "presumed to meddle in any thing that related to "the navy or the admiralty, invaded his jurisdiction, "and would lessen him in the eyes of the people; "and that he ought to be jealous of such men, as of "those who would undermine his greatness; and "that as he was superior to all men by being the "king's brother, so being high admiral he was to "render account to none but to the king, nor suffer "any body else to interpose in any thing relating to "it." Whereas in truth there is no officer of the crown more subject to the council-board than the admiral of England, who is to give an account of all his actions and of every branch of his office constantly to the board, and to receive their orders: nor hath he the nomination of the captains of the ships, till upon the presentation of their names he receives their approbation, which is never denied. Nor was there any counsellor who had ever sat at the board in the last king's time, to whom this was not as much known as any order of the table.

[h] entirely] so entirely

But there was no retrieving this authority, not only from the influence Mr. Coventry, and they of the family who adhered to him, had upon the duke, but from the king's own inclination, who thought that those officers, who immediately depended upon himself and only upon himself, were more at his devotion than they who were obliged to give an account to any other superior. And from the time that he came first into France, he had not been accustomed to any discourse more than to the undervaluing the privy-council, as if it shadowed the king too much, and usurped too much of his authority, and too often superseded his own commands. And the queen his mother had, upon these discourses, always some instances of the authority which in such a case the council had assumed against the king's judgment; the exception to which, according to the relation which nobody could question, seemed to be very reasonable. This kind of discourse, being the subject of every day, made so great impression that it could never be defaced, and made the election and nomination of counsellors less considered, since they were to be no more advised with afterwards than before. 1665.

Another argument, that used to be as frequently insisted upon by the queen, and with more passion and indignation, was of the little respect and reverence that by the law or custom of England was paid to the younger sons of the crown; and though there was nobody present in those conversations who knew any thing of the law or custom in those cases, yet all that was said was taken as granted. And not only the duke but the king himself had a marvellous prejudice to the nation in that part of good

1665. manners: and it was easily agreed, that the model of France was in those and other cases much more preferable, and which was afterwards observed in too many.

This being then the state and temper of the royal family when the king returned, which then consisted of the duke of Gloucester, and two princesses more than it now hath; the very next morning after the fleet came to Scheveling, the duke went on board and took possession of it as lord high admiral: and so his secretary provided new commissions for all the officers who were in present command, for which it is probable they all paid very liberally; for with him the custom began to receive five pounds for every warrant signed by the duke, and for which no secretary to any lord admiral formerly had ever received above twenty shillings. Mr. Coventry, who was utterly unacquainted with all the rules and customs of the sea, and knew none of the officers, but was much courted by all, as the secretary to the admiral always is, made choice of captain Pen, whom the king knighted as soon as he came on board; who from a common man had grown up under Cromwell to the highest command, and was in great favour with him till he failed in the action of St. Domingo, when he went admiral at sea, as Venables was general at land, for which they were both imprisoned in the Tower by Cromwell, nor ever employed by him afterwards: but upon his death he had command again at sea, as he had at this time under Mountague when he came to attend the king. With this man Mr. Coventry made a fast friendship, and was guided by him in all things.

All the offices which belonged to the ships, to the

navy, to the yards, to the whole admiralty, (except the three superior officers, which are not in the disposal of the admiral,) were now void, and to be supplied by the duke, that is, by Mr. Coventry; who by the advice of sir William Pen, who was solely trusted by him in the brocage, conferred them upon those (without observing any other rule) who would give most money, not [i] considering any honest seaman who had continued in the king's service, or suffered long imprisonment for him. And because an incredible sum of money did [k] and would rise this way, some principal officers in the yards, as the master smith and others, and the keepers of the stores, yielding seven, eight hundred, or a thousand pounds; he had the skill to move the duke to bestow such money as would arise upon such place upon sir Charles Berkley, for another to another, and for some to be divided between two or three: by which means the whole family was obliged, and retained to justify him; and the duke himself looked upon it as a generosity in Mr. Coventry, to accommodate his fellow servants with what he might have asked or kept for himself. But it was the best husbandry he could have used: for by this means all men's mouths were stopped, and all clamour secured; whilst the lesser sums for a multitude of offices of all kinds were reserved to himself, and which, in the estimation of those who were at no great distance, amounted to a very great [l] sum, and more than any officer under the king could possibly get by all the perquisites of his place in many years. By this means the whole navy and ships were 1665.

[k] did] was [l] great] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. filled with the same men who had enjoyed the same places and offices under Cromwell, and thereby were the better able to pay well for them; whereof many of the most infamous persons which that time took notice of were now become the king's officers, to the great scandal of their honest neighbours, who observed that they retained the same manners and affections, and used the same discourses they had formerly done.

Besides many other irreparable inconveniences and mischiefs which resulted from this corruption and choice, one grew quickly visible and notorious, in the stealing and embezzling all manner of things out of the ships, even when they were in service: but when they returned from any voyages, incredible proportions of powder, match, cordage, sails, anchors, and all other things, instead of being restored to the several proper officers which were to receive them, were embezzled and sold, and very often sold to the king himself for the setting out other ships and for replenishing his stores. And when this was discovered (as many times it was) and the criminal person apprehended, it was alleged by him as a defence or excuse, "that he had paid so dear for his place, "that he could not maintain himself and family "without practising such shifts:" and none of those fellows were ever brought to exemplary justice, and most of them were restored to their employments.

The three superior officers of the navy were possessed of their offices by patents under the great seal of England before the king's return; and they are the natural established council of the lord high admiral, and are to attend him when he requires it, and always used of course to be with him one cer-

tain day in a week, to render him an account of all the state of the office, and to receive his orders and to give their advice. And now, because these three depended not enough upon him, but especially out of animosity against sir George Carteret, who, besides being treasurer of the navy, was vice-chamberlain of the king's household, and so a privy counsellor; Mr. Coventry proposed to the duke, "that in regard of the multiplicity of business in "the navy, much more than in former times, and the "setting out greater fleets than had been accus-"tomed in that age when those officers and that "model for the government of the navy had been "established, his royal highness would propose to "the king to make an addition, by commissioners, "of some other persons always to sit with the other "officers with equal authority, and to sign all bills with "them;" which was a thing never heard of before, and is in truth a lessening of the power of the admiral. It is very true, there have frequently been commissioners for the navy; but it hath been in the same place [m] of the admiral and to perform his office: but in the time of an admiral commissioners have not been heard of. One principal end in this was, to draw from the treasurer of the navy (whose office Mr. Coventry thought too great, and had implacable animosity against him from the first hour after he had made his friendship with Pen) out of his fees (which, though no greater than were granted by his patent and had been always enjoyed by his predecessors, were indeed greater than had used to be in times of peace, when much less money passed

1665.

[m] place] *Not in MS.*

1665. through his hands) what should be enough to pay those commissioners; for it was not reasonable they should serve for nothing, nor that they should be upon the king's charge, since the treasurer's perquisites might be enough for all.

The duke liked the proposition well, and, without conferring with any body else upon it, proposed it to the king at the council-board, where nobody thought fit to examine or debate what the duke proposed; and the king approved it, and ordered, "that "the commissioners should receive each five hun- "dred pounds by the year:" but finding afterwards that the treasurer of the navy's fees were granted to him under the great seal, his majesty did not think it just to take it from him, but would bear it himself, and appointed the treasurer to pay and pass those pensions in his account. The commissioners named and commended by the duke to the king were the lord Berkley, sir John Lawson, sir William Pen, and sir George Ayscue; the three last[n] the most eminent sea-officers under Cromwell, but it must not be denied but that they served the king afterwards very faithfully. These the king made his commissioners, with a pension to each of five hundred pounds the year, and in some time after added Mr. Coventry to the number with the same pension: so that this first reformation in the time of peace cost the king one way or other no less than three thousand pounds yearly, without the least visible benefit or advantage. The lord Berkley understood nothing that related either[o] to the office or employment, and therefore very seldom was pre-

[n] last] *Not in MS.*

[o] understood nothing that related either] neither understood any thing that related

sent in the execution. But after he had enjoyed the pension a year or thereabout, he procured leave to sell[p] his place, and procured a gentleman, Mr. Thomas Harvey, to give him three thousand pounds for it: so soon this temporary commission, which might have expired within a month, got the reputation of an office for life by the good managery of an officer. 1665.

The state of the navy at the commencement of the war.

This was the state of the navy before the war with Holland was resolved upon. Let us in the next place see what alterations were made in it, or what other preparations were made, or counsels entered upon, for the better conduct of this war: and a clear and impartial view or reflection upon what was then said and done, gave discerning men an unhappy presage of what would follow. There was no discourse now in the court, after this royal subsidy of five and twenty hundred thousand pounds was granted, but, "of giving the law to the whole trade "of Christendom; of making all ships which passed "by or through the narrow seas to pay an imposi-"tion to the king, as all do to the king of Denmark "who pass by the Sound; and making all who pass "near to pay contribution to his majesty;" which must concern all the princes of Christendom: and the king and duke were often desired to discountenance and suppress this impertinent talk, which must increase the number of the enemies. Commissioners were appointed to reside in all or the most eminent port-towns, for the sale of all prize-goods; and these were chosen for the most part out of those

[p] sell] sell in

1665. members of the house of commons, who were active to advance the king's service, or who promised to be so, to whom liberal salaries were assigned.

Commissioners of appeals appointed.

There were then commissioners appointed to judge all appeals, which should be made upon and against all sentences given by the judge of the admiralty and his deputies; and these were all privy counsellors, the earl of Lautherdale, the lord Ashley, and the secretaries of state, who were like to be most careful of the king's profit. But then the rules which were prescribed to judge by were such as were warranted[r] by no former precedents, nor[s] acknowledged to be just by the practice of any neighbour nation, and such as would make all ships which traded for Holland, from what kingdom soever, lawful prize; which was foreseen would bring complaints from all places, as it did as soon as the war begun. French and Spaniard and Swede and Dane were alike treated; whilst their ambassadors made loud complaints every day to the king and the council for the injustice and the rapine, without remedy, more than references to the admiralty, and then to the lords commissioners of appeal, which increased the charge, and raised and improved the indignity. Above all, the Hanse-Towns of Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, and the rest, (who had large exemptions and privileges by charter granted by former kings and now renewed by this,) had the worst luck; for none of them could ever be distinguished from the Dutch. Their ships were so like, and their language so near, that not one of their

The injustice of their sentences.

[r] warranted] *Omitted in MS.* [s] nor] and

vessels were met with, from what part of the world soever they came, or whithersoever they were [t] bound, but they were brought in [u]; and if the evidence was such as there could be no colour to retain them, but that they must be released, they always carried with them sad remembrances of the company they had been in. 1665.

There was one sure rule to make any ship prize, which was, if above three Dutch mariners were aboard it there need no [x] further proof for the forfeiture; which being no where known could not be prevented, all merchants' ships, when they are ready for their voyage, taking all seamen on board of what nation soever who are necessary for their service: so that those Dutchmen who run from their own country to avoid fighting, (as very many did, and very many more would have done,) and put themselves on board merchants' ships of any other country, where they were willingly entertained, made those ships lawful prize in which they served, by a rule that nobody knew nor would submit to.

Too much encouragement given to privateers.

It was resolved that all possible encouragement should be given to privateers, that is, to as many as would take commissions from the admiral to set out vessels of war, as they call them, to take prizes from the enemy; which no articles or obligations can restrain from all the villany they can act, and are a people, how countenanced soever or thought necessary, that do bring an unavoidable scandal, and it is to be feared a curse, upon the justest war that was ever made at sea. A sail! A sail! is the word with them; friend or foe is the same; they possess

[t] were] *Omitted in MS.*
[u] in] *Not in MS.*
[x] no] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. all they can master, and run with it to any obscure place where they can sell it, (which retreats are never wanting,) and never attend the ceremony of an adjudication. Besides the horrible scandal and clamour that this classis of men brought upon the king and the whole government for defect of justice, the prejudice which resulted from thence to the public and to the carrying on the service is unspeakable: all seamen run to them. And though the king now assigned an ample share of all prizes taken by his own ships to the seamen, over and above their wages; yet there was great difference between the condition of the one and the other: in the king's fleet they might gain well, but they were sure of blows, nothing could be got there without fighting; with the privateers there was rarely fighting, they took all who could make little resistance, and fled from all who were too strong for them. And so those fellows were always well manned, when the king's ships were compelled to stay many days for want of men, who were raised by pressing and with great difficulty. And whoever spake against those lewd people, upon any case whatsoever, was thought to have no regard for the duke's profit, nor to desire to weaken the enemy.

In all former wars at sea, as there was great care taken to appoint commissioners for the sale of all prize-goods, who understood the value of those commodities they had to sell, yet were compelled to sell better bargains than are usually got in public markets; so there was all strictness used in bringing all receivers to as punctual an account, as any other of the king's receivers are bound to make, and to compel them to pay in all the money they receive

into the exchequer, that it might be issued out to the treasurer of the navy or to other officers for the expense of the war. And it had been a great argument in the first consultations upon this war, "that "it would support itself; and that after one good "fleet should be set out once to beat the Dutch," (for that was never thought worthy of a doubt,) "the prizes, which would every day after be taken, "would plentifully do all the rest; besides the great "sum that the Dutch would give to purchase their "peace, and the yearly rent they would give for "the liberty of fishing;" with all which it was not thought fit to allow them "to keep above such a "number of ships of war, limited to so many ton and "to so many guns;" with many particulars of that nature, which were carefully digested by those who promoted the war. But now, after this supply given by the parliament, there was no more danger of want of money: and many discourses there were, "that the prize-money might be better disposed in "rebuilding the king's houses, and many other good "uses which would occur;" and the king forbore to speak any more of appointing receivers and treasurers for that purpose, when all or most other officers, who were judged necessary for the service, were already named; and the lord treasurer, who by his office should have the recommendation of those officers to the king, had a list of men, who for the reputation and experience they had were in his judgment worthy to be trusted, to be presented to the king when he should enter upon that subject. 1665.

Lord Ashley obtains a grant appointing him trea-

But one evening a servant of the lord Ashley came to the chancellor with a bill signed and desired in his master's name, "that it might be sealed

1665. " that night." The bill was, " to make and constitute the lord Ashley treasurer of all the money " that should be raised upon the sale of all prizes, " which were or should be taken in this present " war, with power to make all such officers as should " be necessary for the service; and that he should " account for all monies so received to the king him- " self, and to no other person whatsoever, and pay " and issue out all those monies which he should re- " ceive, in such manner as his majesty should ap- " point by warrant under his sign manual, and by no " other warrant; and that he should be free and ex- " empt from accounting into the exchequer." When the chancellor had seen the contents, he bade the messenger tell his lord, " that he would speak with " the king before he would seal that grant, and that " he desired much to speak with himself."

surer of prize-money.

The chancellor remonstrates against sealing this grant.

The next morning he waited upon the king, and informed him " of the bill that was brought to him, " and doubted that he had been surprised: that it " was not only such an original as was without any " precedent, but in itself in many particulars de- " structive to his service and to the right of other " men. That all receivers of any part of his re- " venue were accountable in the exchequer, and " could receive their discharge in no other place: " and that if so great a receipt, as this was already," (for the fleet of wine and other ships already seized were by a general computation valued at one hundred thousand pounds,) " and as it evidently would " be, should pass without the most formal account " his majesty might be abominably cozened, nor " could it any other way be prevented. And in the " next place, that this grant was not only derog-

"tory to the lord treasurer, but did really degrade 1665.
"him, there being another treasurer made more ab-
"solute than himself, and without dependence upon
"him." And therefore he besought his majesty, "that he would reconsider the thing itself and hear "it debated, at least that the treasurer might be "first heard, without which it could not be done in "justice:" to which he added, "that he would speak "with the lord Ashley himself, and tell him how "much he was to blame to affect such a province, "which might bring great inconveniences upon his "person and his estate."

He quickly found that the king had not been surprised in what he had done, "which," he said, "was absolutely in his own power to do; and that "it would bring prejudice only to himself, which he "had sufficiently provided against." However, he seemed willing to decline any thing that looked like an affront to the treasurer, and therefore was content that the sealing it might be suspended till he had further considered.

The lord Ashley came shortly to the chancellor, and seemed "to take it unkindly that his patent "was not sealed:" to which he answered, "that he "had suspended the immediate sealing it for three "reasons; whereof one was, that he might first "speak with the king, who he believed would re-"ceive much prejudice by it; another, that it would "not consist with the respect he owed to the lord "treasurer, who was much affronted in it, to seal it "before he was made acquainted with it. And in "the last place, that he had stopped it for his, "the lord Ashley's, own sake: and that he believed "he had neither enough considered the indignity

1665. "that was offered to the lord treasurer, to whom he "professed so much respect, and by whose favour "and powerful interposition he enjoyed the office he "held, nor his own true interest, in submitting his "estate to those incumbrances which such a receipt "would inevitably expose it to. And that the ex- "emption from making any account but to the king "himself would deceive him: and as it was an un- "usual and unnatural privilege, so it would never "be allowed in any court of justice, which would "exact both the account and the payment or lawful "discharge of what money he should receive; and "if he depended upon the exemption he would live "to repent it."

He answered little to the particulars more than with some sullenness, "that the king had given "him the office, and knew best what is good for his "own service; and that except his majesty retracted "his grant, he would look to enjoy the benefit of it. "That he did not desire to put an affront upon the "lord treasurer; and if there were any expressions "in his commission which reflected upon him, he "was content they should be mended or left out: "in all other respects he was resolved to run the "hazard."

The treasurer himself, though he knew that he was not well used, and exceedingly disdained the behaviour of his nephew, (for the lord Ashley had married his niece,) who he well knew had by new friendships cancelled all the obligations to him, would not appear to oppose what the king resolved, but sat unconcerned, and took no notice of any thing. And so within a short time the king sent a positive order to the chancellor to seal the commission: which he

The king obliges him to seal it.

could no longer refuse, and did it with the more trouble, because he very well knew, that few men knew the lord Ashley better than the king himself did, or had a worse opinion of his integrity. But he was now gotten into friendships which were most behooveful to him, and which could remove or reconcile all prejudices: he was fast linked to sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry in a league offensive and defensive, the same friends and the same enemies, and had got an entire trust with the lady, who very well understood the benefit such an officer would be to her. Nor was it difficult to persuade the king (who thought himself more rich in having one thousand pounds in his closet that nobody knew of, than in fifty thousand pounds in his exchequer) how many conveniences he would find in having so much money at his own immediate disposal, without the formality of privy seals and other men's warrants, and the indecency and mischief which would attend a formal account of all his generous donatives and expense, which should be known only to himself. 1665.

Measures taken to prejudice the king against the chancellor.

Though the king seemed to continue the same gracious countenance towards the chancellor which he had used, and frequently came to his house when he was indisposed with the gout, and consulted all his business, which he thought of public importance, with him with equal freedom; yet he himself found, and many others observed, that he had not the same credit and power with him. The nightly meetings had of late made him more the subject of the discourse; and since the time of the new secretary they had taken more liberty to talk of what was done in

1665. council, than they had done formerly; and the duke of Buckingham pleased himself and all the company in acting all the persons who spake there in their looks and motions, in which piece of mimicry he had an especial faculty; and in this exercise the chancellor had a full part. In the height of mirth, if the king said "he would go such a journey or do "such a trivial thing to-morrow," somebody would lay a wager that he would not do it; and when he asked why, it was answered, "that the chancellor "would not let him:" and then another would protest, "that he thought there was no ground for that "imputation; however, he could not deny that it "was generally believed abroad, that his majesty "was entirely and implicitly governed by the chan-"cellor." Which often put the king to declare in some passion, "that the chancellor had served him "long, and understood his business, in which he "trusted him: but in any other matter than his "business, he had no other credit with him than "any other man;" which they reported with great joy in other companies.

A proposal made to the king for liberty of conscience.

In the former session of the parliament, the lord Ashley, out of his indifferency in matters of religion, and the lord Arlington out of his good-will to the Roman catholics, had drawn in the lord privy seal, whose interest was most in the presbyterians, to propose to the king an indulgence for liberty of conscience: for which they offered two motives; the one, "the probability of a war with the Dutch;" though it was not then declared; "and in that case "the prosecution of people at home for their several "opinions in religion would be very inconvenient,

"and might prove mischievous." The other was, 1665.
"that the [y] fright men were in by reason of the
"late bill against conventicles, and the warmth the
"parliament expressed with reference to the church,
"had so prepared all sorts of non-conformists, that
"they would gladly compound for liberty at any
"reasonable rates: and by this means a good yearly
"revenue might be raised to the king, and a firm
"concord and tranquillity be established in the
"kingdom, if power were granted by the parliament
"to the king to grant dispensations to such whom
"he knew to be peaceably affected, for their exer-
"cise of that religion which was agreeable to their
"conscience, without undergoing the penalty of the
"laws." And they had prepared a schedule, in which they computed what every Roman catholic would be willing to pay yearly for the exercise of his religion, and so of every other sect; which, upon the estimate they made, would indeed have amounted to a very great sum of money yearly.

The king liked the arguments and the project very well, and wished them to prepare such a bill; which was done quickly, very short, and without any mention of other advantage to grow from it, than "the peace and quiet of the kingdom[z], and an "entire reference to the king's own judgment and "discretion in dispensing his dispensations." This was equally approved: and though hitherto it had been managed with great secrecy, that it might not come to the knowledge of the chancellor and the treasurer, who they well knew would never consent to it; yet the king resolved to impart it to them. The king approves it.

[y] the] in the

[z] kingdom] quiet *by mistake in MS.*

1665. And the chancellor being then afflicted with the gout, the committee that used to be called was appointed to meet at Worcester-house: and thither likewise came the privy seal, and the lord Ashley, who had never before been present in those meetings.

The chancellor and treasurer oppose it at the private committee.

The king informed them of the occasion of their conference, and caused the draught for the bill to be read to them; which was done, and such reasons given by those who promoted it, as they thought fit; the chief of which was, "that there could be no "danger in trusting the king, whose zeal to the "protestant religion was so well known, that no- "body would doubt that he would use this power, "when granted to him, otherwise than should be "for the good and benefit of the church and state." The chancellor and the treasurer, as had been presaged, were very warm against it, and used many arguments to dissuade the king from prosecuting it, "as a thing that could never find the concurrence "of either or both houses, and which would raise a "jealousy in both, and in the people generally, of "his affection to the papists, which would not be "good for either; and every body knew that he had "no favour for either of the other factions." But what the others said, who were of another opinion, prevailed more; and his majesty declared, "that the "bill should be presented to the house of peers as "from him, and in his name; and that he hoped "none of his servants, who knew his mind as well "as every body there did, would oppose it, but "either be absent or silent:" to which both the lords answered, "that they should not be absent "purposely, and if they were present, they hoped

"his majesty would excuse them if they spake ac- 1665.
"cording to their conscience and judgment, which
"they could not forbear to do;" with which his majesty seemed unsatisfied, though the lords of the combination were better pleased than they would have been with their concurrence.

The bill presented to the house of lords.

Within few days after, the chancellor remaining still in his chamber without being able to go, the bill was presented in the house of peers by the lord privy seal, as by the king's direction and approbation, and thereupon had the first reading: and as soon as it was read, the lord treasurer spake against it, "as unfit to be received and to have the counte-
"nance of another reading in the house, being a de-
"sign against the protestant religion and in favour
"of the papists," with many sharp reflections upon those who had spoken for it; and many of the bishops spake to the same purpose, and urged many weighty arguments against it. However it was moved, "that since it was averred that it was
"with the king's privity, it would be a thing un-
"heard of to deny it a second reading:" and that there might be no danger of a surprisal by its being read in a thin house, it was ordered "that it should
"be read the second time" upon a day named "at ten
"of the clock in the morning;" with which all were satisfied.

The treasurer and bishops oppose it at the first reading.

In the mean time great pains were taken to persuade particular men to approve it: and some of the bishops were sharply reprehended for opposing the king's prerogative, with some intimation "that
"if they continued in that obstinacy they would[a]

[a] would] should

1665. "repent it;" to which they made such answers as in honesty and wisdom they ought to do, without being shaken in their resolution. It was rather insinuated than declared, "that the bill had been per-"used," some said "drawn, by the chancellor," and averred "that he was not against it:" which being confidently reported, and believed or not believed as he was more or less known to the persons present, he thought himself obliged to make his own sense known. And so on the day appointed for the second reading, with pain and difficulty he was in his place in the house: and so after the second reading of the bill, he was of course to propose the commitment of it. Many of the bishops and others spake fiercely against it, as a way to undermine religion; and the lord treasurer, with his usual weight of words, shewed the ill consequence that must attend it, and "that in the bottom it was a project to get "money at the price of religion; which he believed "was not intended or known to the king, but only "to those who had projected it, and, it may be, im-"posed upon others who meant well."

The treasurer and bishops oppose it at the second reading.

The lord privy seal, either upon the observation of the countenance of the house or advertisement of his friends [b], or unwilling to venture his reputation in the enterprise, had given over the game the first day, and now spake not at all: but the lord Ashley adhered firmly to his point, spake often and with great sharpness of wit, and had a cadence in his words and pronunciation that drew attention. He said, "it was the king's misfortune that a matter of "so great concernment to him, and such a preroga-

Lord Ashley speaks for it.

[b] friends] friend

"tive as it may be would be found to be inherent 1665.
"in him without any declaration of parliament,
"should be supported only by such weak men as
"himself, who served his majesty at a distance,
"whilst the great officers of the crown thought fit
"to oppose it; which he more wondered at, because
"nobody knew more than they the king's unshake-
"able firmness in his religion, that had resisted and
"vanquished so many great temptations; and there-
"fore he could not be thought unworthy of a
"greater trust with reference to it, than he would
"have by this bill."

The chancellor, having not been present at the former debate upon the first day, thought it fit to sit silent in this, till he found the house in some expectation to hear his opinion: and then he stood up and said, "that no man could say more, if it were "necessary or pertinent, of the king's constancy in "his religion, and of his understanding the constitu-"tion and foundation of the church of England, "than he; no man had been witness to more as-"saults which he had sustained than he had been, "and of many victories; and therefore, if the ques-"tion were how far he might be trusted in that "point, he should make no scruple in declaring, "that he thought him more worthy to be trusted "than any man alive. But there was nothing in "that bill that could make that the question, which "had confounded all notions of religion, and erected "a chaos of policy to overthrow all religion and go-"vernment: so that the question was not, whether "the king were worthy of that trust, but whether "that trust were worthy of the king. That it had "been no new thing for kings to divest themselves

The chancellor speaks against it;

1665. "of many particular rights and powers, because "they were thereby exposed to more trouble and "vexation, and so deputed that authority to others "qualified by them[c]: and he thought it a very un- "reasonable and unjust thing to commit such a "trust to the king, which nobody could suppose he "could execute himself, and yet must subject him "to daily and hourly importunities, which must be "so much the more uneasy to a nature of so great "bounty and generosity, that nothing is so un- "grateful to him as to be obliged to deny."

And drops some unguarded expressions.

In the vehemence of this debate, the lord Ashley having used some language that he knew reflected upon him, the chancellor let fall some unwary expressions, which were turned to his reproach and remembered long after. When he insisted upon the wildness and illimitedness in the bill, he said, "it "was ship-money in religion, that nobody could "know the end of, or where it would rest; that if "it were passed, Dr. Goffe or any other apostate "from the church of England might be made a bi- "shop or archbishop here, all oaths and statutes "and subscriptions being dispensed with:" which were thought two envious instances, and gave his enemies opportunities to make glosses and reflections upon to his disadvantage. In this debate it fell out that the duke of York appeared very much against the bill; which was imputed to the chancellor, and served to "heap coals of fire upon "his head." In the end, very few having spoken for it, though there were many who would have consented to it, besides the catholic lords, it was

[c] them] him

agreed that there should be no question put for the commitment; which was the most civil way of rejecting it, and left it to be no more called for. 1665.

The king offended with the chancellor and treasurer;

The king was infinitely troubled at the ill success of this bill, which he had been assured would pass notwithstanding the opposition that was expected; and it had produced one effect that was foreseen though not believed, in renewing the bitterness against the Roman catholics. And they, who watched all occasions to perform those offices, had now a large field to express their malice against the chancellor and the treasurer, "whose pride only "had disposed them to shew their power and credit "in diverting the house from gratifying the king, "to which they had been inclined;" and his majesty heard all that could be said against them without any dislike. After two or three days he sent for them both together into his closet, which made it generally believed in the court, that he resolved to take both their offices from them, and they did in truth believe and expect it[d]: but there was never any cause appeared after to think that it was in his purpose. He spake to them of other business, without taking the least notice of the other matter, and dismissed them with a countenance less open than he used to have towards them, and made it evident that he had not the same thoughts of them he had formerly.

And when the next day the chancellor went to him alone, and was admitted into his cabinet, and began to take notice "that he seemed to have dis- "satisfaction in his looks towards him;" the king, in

[d] it] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. more choler than he had ever before seen him, told him, "his looks were such as they ought to be; "that he was very much unsatisfied with him, and "thought he had used him very ill; that he had de- "served better of him, and did not expect that he "would have carried himself in that manner as he "had done in the house of peers, having known his "majesty's own opinion from himself, which it seem- "ed was of no authority with him if it differed from "his judgment, to which he would not submit "against his reason."

The other, with the confidence of an honest man, entered upon the discourse of the matter, assured him "the very proposing it had done his majesty "much prejudice, and that they who were best af- "fected to his service in both houses were much "troubled and afflicted with it: and of those who "advised him to it, one knew nothing of the con- "stitution of England, and was not thought to wish "well to the religion of it; and the other was so "well known to him, that nothing was more won- "derful than that his majesty should take him for a "safe counsellor." He had recourse then again to the matter, and used some arguments against it which had not been urged before, and which seemed to make impression. He heard all he said with patience, but seemed not to change his mind, and answered no more than "that it was no time to speak "to the matter, which was now passed; and if it "had been unseasonably urged, he might still have "carried himself otherwise than he had done;" and so spake of somewhat else.

His majesty did not withdraw any of his trust or confidence from him in his business, and seemed to

have the same kindness for him: but from that time he never had the same credit with him as he had before. The lord Ashley got no ground, but sir Harry Bennet very much, who, though he spake very little in council, shewed his power out of it, by persuading his majesty to recede from many resolutions he had taken there. And afterwards, in all the debates in council which were preparatory to the war, and upon those particulars which have been mentioned before, which concerned the justice and policy that was to be observed, whatsoever was offered by the chancellor or treasurer was never considered. It was answer enough, "that they were "enemies to the war;" which was true, as long as it was in deliberation: but from the time it was resolved and remediless, none of them who promoted it contributed any thing to the carrying it on proportionably to what was done by the other two. 1665.

There was another and a greater mischief than hath been mentioned, that resulted from that unhappy debate; which was the prejudice and disadvantage that the bishops underwent by their so unanimous dislike of that bill. For from that time the king never treated any of them with that respect as he had done formerly, and often spake of them too slightly; which easily encouraged others not only to mention their persons very negligently, but their function and religion itself, as an invention to impose upon the free judgments and understandings of men. What was preached in the pulpit was commented upon and derided in the chamber, and preachers acted, and sermons vilified as laboured discourses, which the preachers made only to shew their own parts and wit, without any other design And with the bishops.

1665. than to be commended and preferred. These grew to be the subjects of the mirth and wit of the court; and so much license was [e] manifested in it, that gave infinite scandal to those who observed it, and to those who received the reports of it: and all serious and prudent men took it as an ill presage, that whilst all warlike preparations were made in abundance suitable to the occasion, there should so little preparation of spirit be for a war against an enemy, who might possibly be without some of our virtues, but assuredly was without any of our vices.

The plague breaks out.

There begun now to appear another enemy, much more formidable than the Dutch, and more difficult to be struggled with; which was the plague, that brake out in the winter, and made such an early progress in the spring, that though the weekly numbers did not rise high, and it appeared to be only in the outskirts of the town, and in the most obscure alleys, amongst the poorest people; yet the ancient men, who well remembered in what manner the last great plague (which had been near forty years before) first brake out, and the progress it afterwards made, foretold a terrible summer. And many of them removed their families out of the city to country habitations; when their neighbours laughed at their providence, and thought they might have stayed without danger: but they found shortly that they had done wisely. In March it spread so much, that the parliament was very willing to part: which was likewise the more necessary, in regard that so many of the members of the house of commons were assigned to so many offices and employments which

[e] was] *Not in MS.*

related to the war, and which required their immediate attendance. For though the fleet was not yet gone out, yet there were many prizes daily brought in, besides the first seizure, which by this time was adjudged [d] lawful prize; in all which great loss was sustained by the license of officers as well as common men, and the absence of such as should restrain and punish it: so that, as soon as the bill was passed the houses for the good aid they had given the king, and was ready for the royal assent, his majesty passed it, and prorogued the parliament in April (which was in 1665[e]) till September following; his majesty declaring, "that if it pleased God to extinguish or allay the fierceness of the plague," which at that time raged more, "he should be glad to meet "them then; by which time they would judge by "some success of the war, what was more to be "done. But if that visitation increased, they should "have notice by proclamation that they might not "hazard themselves." 1665. The parliament prorogued.

The parliament being thus prorogued, there was the same reason to hasten out the fleet; towards which the duke left nothing undone, which his unwearied industry and example could contribute towards it [f], being himself on board, and having got all things necessary into his own ship that he cared for. But he found that it was absolutely requisite to put out to sea, though many things were wanting in other ships, even of beer and other provision of victual; not only to be before the enemy, but because [g] he saw it would be impossible, whilst the ships were in port, to keep the seamen from going The fleet prepared.

[d] adjudged] adjusted
[e] 1665] *by error in MS.* 55.
[f] it] *Omitted in MS.*
[g] because] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. on shore, by which they might bring the plague on board with them; and there was already a suspicion that the infection was got into one of the smaller ships.

It hath been said before, that all things relating to the fleet were upon the matter wholly governed by Mr. Coventry. It is very true, that the officers of the navy constantly attended the duke together with those three sea-captains who have been named before: but from the time that the war was declared, his highness consulted daily, for his own information and instruction, with sir John Lawson and sir George Ayscue and sir William Pen, all men of great experience, and who had commanded in several battles. Upon the advice of these men the duke always made his estimates and all propositions to the king. There was somewhat of rivalship between the two last, because they had been in equal command: therefore the duke took sir William Pen into his own ship, and made him captain of it; which was a great trust, and a very honourable command, that exempted him from receiving any orders but from the duke, and so extinguished the other emulation, the other two being flag-officers and to command several squadrons.

The duke of York consults much with three eminent sea-officers.

In all conferences with these men Mr. Coventry's presence and attendance was necessary, both to reduce all things into writing which were agreed upon, and to be able to put the duke in mind of what he was to do. Lawson was the man of whose judgment the duke had the best esteem; and he was in truth, of a man of that breeding, (for he was a perfect tarpawlin,) a very extraordinary person; he understood his profession incomparably well,

spake clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciously enough when he was contradicted. Ayscue was a gentleman, but had kept ill company too long, which had blunted his understanding, if it had been ever sharp: he was of few words, yet spake to the purpose and to be easily understood. Pen, who had much the worst understanding, had a great mind to appear better bred, and to speak like a gentleman; he had got many good words, which he used at adventure; he was a formal man, and spake very leisurely but much, and left the matter more intricate and perplexed than he found it. He was entirely governed by Mr. Coventry, who still learned enough of him to offer any thing rationally in the debate, or to cross what was not agreeable to his own fancy, by which he was still swayed out of the pride and perverseness of his will. 1665.

Upon debate and conference with these men, the duke brought propositions to the king reduced into writing by Mr. Coventry; and the king commonly consulted them with the lord treasurer in his [h] presence, the propositions being commonly for increase of the expense, which Mr. Coventry was solicitous by all the ways possible to contrive. To those consultations the duke always brought the sea-officers, and Mr. Coventry, who spake much more than they, to explain especially what sir William Pen said, who took upon himself to speak most, and often what the others had never thought though they durst not contradict; and sir John Lawson often complained, "that Mr. Coventry put that in writing which had "never been proposed by them, and would continue

[h] his] the

1665. "disputing it till they yielded." Every conference raised the charge very much; and what they proposed yesterday as enough was to-day made twice as much; if they proposed six fire-ships to be provided, within two or three days they demanded twelve: so there could be no possible computation of the charge.

The duke puts out to sea.

By this means the fleet that was now ready to put to sea amounted to fourscore sail; and the king willingly consented, upon the reasons the duke presented to him, that they should set sail as soon as was possible. And before the end of April the duke was with the whole fleet at sea, and visited the coast of Holland, and took many ships in their view, their fleet being not yet in readiness. Many noblemen, the earl of Peterborough, the lord viscount Ferrers, and others, with many gentlemen of quality, went as volunteers, and were distributed into the several ships with much countenance by the duke, and as many taken into his own ship as could be done with convenience.

Many noblemen go as volunteers.

The duke of Buckingham had from the first mention of the war, which he promoted all he could, declared "that he would make one in it:" and when it was declared, he desired to have the command of a ship, which the duke positively denied to give him, except the king commanded it, (and his majesty was content to refer that, as he did the nomination of all the other officers, to his brother,) and did not think fit that a man, of what quality soever, who had never been at sea, should his first voyage have the command of any considerable ship, (and a small one had not been for his honour;) at which he was much troubled. Yet his friends told him that he

was too far engaged, to stay at home when his royal highness ventured his own person: and thereupon he resolved to go a volunteer, and put himself on board a flag-ship, the captain whereof was in his favour. And then he desired, "that in respect of his "quality, and his being a privy counsellor, he might "be present in all councils of war." The duke thought this not reasonable, and would not make a new precedent. There were many of the ancient nobility, earls and barons, who were then on board as volunteers; and if the consideration of quality might entitle them to be present in council, all orders would be broken, there being none called but flag-officers: and therefore his royal highness positively refused to gratify him in that point; which the duke of Buckingham thought (it being enough known that the duke had neither esteem or kindness for him) to be such a personal disobligation, that would well excuse him for declining the enterprise. And pretending that he did appeal to the king in point of right, he left the fleet, and returned to the shore to complain. And we return back too to the view of other particulars. 1665.

There were two persons, whom the king and his brother did desire to make remarkable by some extraordinary favours: one of which was equally grateful to both, sir Charles Berkley, who had been lately created an Irish viscount by the name of lord Fitzharding, the old and true surname of the family; upon whom the king had, for reasons only known to himself, set his affection so much, that he had never denied any thing he asked for himself or for any body else, and was well content that he should be looked upon as his favourite. He had

Some new peers made.

Sir Charles Berkley created earl of Falmouth;

1665. been long thought so to the duke, who was willing to promote any thing to his advantage: and the king had deferred those instances only till the parliament should be prorogued, lest it should raise the appetites of others to make suits, which he had hitherto defended himself from, by declaring he would make no more lords. But the parliament was no sooner prorogued, than it was resolved to be put in execution: and when it was to be done, the chancellor had the honour to be present alone with the king and duke, when it seemed to be first thought of. And when the duke proposed it as a suit to the king, that he would make the lord Fitzharding an earl, extolling his courage and affection to the king; he[i] was pleased with the motion to that degree, that he extolled him with praises which could be applied to few men: and it was quickly resolved that he should be an earl of England, and a title was as soon found out; and so he was created earl of Falmouth, before he had one foot of land in the world.

And to gratify the king for this favour, the duke likewise proposed that the king would make sir Harry Bennet a lord, whom all the world knew he did not care for; which was as willingly granted: and he had no more estate than the other, and could not so easily find a title for his barony. But because he had no mind to retain his own name, which was no good one, his first warrant was to be created Cheney, which was an ancient barony expired, and to which family he had not the least relation: and for some days upon the signing the warrant he was called lord Cheney, until a gentleman of the best

And sir H. Bennet lord Arlington.

[i] he] who

quality in Buckinghamshire, who, though he had no title to the barony, was yet of the same family, and inherited most part of the estate, which was very considerable, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Newcastle, heard of it, and made haste to stop it. He went first to sir Harry Bennet himself, and desired him "not to affect a title to which he "had no relation; and to which though he could "not pretend of direct right, yet he was not so[k] "obscure but that himself or a son of his might "hereafter be thought worthy of it by the crown; "and in that respect it would be some trouble to "him to see it vested in the family of a stranger." The secretary did not give him so civil an answer as he expected, having no knowledge of the gentleman. Yet shortly after, upon information of his condition and quality, (as he was in all respects very worthy of consideration,) the patent being not yet prepared, he was contented to take the title of a little farm that had belonged to his father and was sold by him, and now in the possession of another private person; and so was created lord Arlington, the proper and true name of the place being Harlington, a little village between London and Uxbridge. 1665.

Mr. Frescheville created lord Frescheville;

The king took the occasion to make these two noblemen from an obligation that lay upon him to confer two honours at the same time; the one upon Mr. Frescheville, of a very ancient family in Derbyshire, and a fair estate, who had been always bred in the court, a menial servant of the last king, and had served him in the head of a troop of horse raised

[k] so] *Not in MS.*

1665. at his own charge in the war, and whom his late majesty had promised to make a baron.

And Mr. Richard Arundel lord Arundel of Trerice.

The other was Mr. Richard Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall, a gentleman as well known by what he had done and suffered in the late time, as by the eminency of his family, and the fortune he was still master of after the great depredation of the time. John Arundel, his father, was of the best interest and estate of the gentlemen of Cornwall: and in the beginning of the troubles, when the lord Hopton and the other gentlemen with him were forced to retire into Cornwall, he and his friends supported them, and gave the first turn and opposition to the current of the parliament's usurpation; and to them, their courage and activity, all the success that the lord Hopton had afterwards was justly to be imputed as to the first rise. The old gentleman was then above seventy years of age, and infirm; but all his sons he engaged in the war: the two eldest were eminent officers, both members of the house of commons, and the more zealous soldiers by having been witnesses of the naughty proceedings of those who had raised the rebellion. The eldest was killed in the head of his troop, charging and driving back a bold sally that was made out of Plymouth when it was besieged: and this other gentleman of whom we now speak, and who was then the younger brother, was an excellent colonel of foot to the end of the war.

The eminent services of this gentleman and his family.

When sir Nicholas Slanning, who was governor of Pendennis, lost his life bravely in the siege of Bristol, the king knew not into what hands to commit that important place so securely, as by sending a commission to old John Arundel of Trerice to com-

mand, well knowing that it must be preserved principally by his interest; and in respect of his age joined his eldest son with him: and after his death he added the younger brother to the command, of whom we are speaking, who was in truth then looked upon as the most powerful person in that county. 1665.

When the king, then prince, was compelled, after almost the whole west was lost, to retire into Cornwall, he remained in Pendennis castle, and from thence made his first embarkation to Scilly: and at parting, out of a princely sense of the affection and service of that family, he took the old gentleman aside, and in the presence of his son wished him "to "defend the place as long as he could, because re- "lief might come, of which there was some hope "from abroad;" and promised him, "if he lived to "come back into England, he would make him a "baron; and if he were dead, he would make it "good to his son." The old man behaved him bravely to his death, having all his estate taken from him; and his son remained as eminently faithful, and had as deep marks of it as any man: so that at the king's return, who never forgat his promise, he might have received the effect of it in the first creation, if he had desired it; but he chose rather to recover the bruises his fortune had endured by seizures and sequestrations, before he would embark him in a condition that must presently raise his expense in his way of living. And as soon as he found himself at ease in that respect, he got a friend to inform the king, "that he was ready to re- "ceive his bounty."

And his majesty, being under these two obliga-

1665. tions, was willing to take the same opportunity to prefer the two other persons he loved so well. But at the same time that he declared his resolution for the last two, (but what concerned the others had been long known and expected,) his majesty reflected upon the number of the house of peers, which was in many respects found grievous, and declared to his brother and the chancellor, who were only present, "that no importunity should prevail "with him to make any more lords in many years, "and till the present number should be lessened;" in which resolution the duke willingly concurred, and protested "that he would never more importune "him in that point." The reason of mentioning this declaration and resolution will appear hereafter. This creation was no sooner over, than the new earl of Falmouth went with the duke to sea: for though his relation was now immediately to the king and near his person, yet he thought himself obliged not to be from the duke when he was to be engaged in so much danger; and he was confessed by all men to abound in a most fearless courage.

A particular relation of passing the Canary patent.

It will not be unseasonable in this place to take a view of an act of state that passed about this time, and which afterwards administered matter of reproach against the chancellor, and was made use of by his enemies as an evidence of his corruption; for the better understanding whereof, it will be necessary to begin the relation from the original ground of the counsel. About the first Christmas after the king's happy return into England, the chancellor, treasurer, privy seal, and the two chief justices (being the persons appointed by the statute for that

purpose) met together to set the prices upon the several sorts of wines; and were attended, according to custom, by the company of vintners, and the chief merchants in the city who traded in that commodity. And being first to limit the merchants to a reasonable rate, before they could prescribe any price to the vintners upon the retail, they found, by the best inquiry they could make, that the first prices beyond the seas which the merchants paid for their wines were so excessive, that the retail could not be brought within any compass; and that since the beginning of the troubles the price of wines in general was exceedingly increased, and particularly that of the Canaries was almost double to what it had been in the year 1640. 1665.

The chancellor knew very well, by the correspondence he had held in the Canaries, (during the time that he had served his majesty as his ambassador in Spain,) that the whole trade for the Canary wine was driven solely by the English, and the commodity entirely vended in the king's dominions, all Christendom beside not spending any quantity of that wine: and thereupon he asked the merchants "whether what he had reported was not true, and "what would be the way to remedy that mis-"chief."

They all confessed it to be very true, and "that "it was a great reproach to the nation to be so "much imposed upon in a trade that they might "govern themselves: and that the unreasonable "prices of the wine were not the greatest prejudice "that was befallen that trade. That before the "troubles they had been so far from employing any "stock of money for the support of that traffick, that

1665. "they used to send their ships fully laden with all "commodities thither, which yielded very good "markets, being sent from thence into the West "Indies with their Plate fleets; and that the very "pipe-staves which they carried did very near sup- "ply the value of their wine, so that they brought "home the proceed of their commodities either in "pieces of eight, or such other merchandizes as had "been brought thither from the Indies, and upon "which they received great profit. On the con- "trary, that the trade was now wholly driven by "ready money; that the commodities they send thi- "ther are not taken off, except at their own prices, "so that they have for the late years sent their ves- "sels empty thither, except only with some few "pipe-staves, which by the destruction in Ireland "they could not send in any great proportion; and "that their ships return from thence with no other "lading but those wines, which they trade for in "ready money, either by pieces of eight sent in "their ships from hence, or by bills of exchange "charged upon some known merchants in Spain. "That over and above these disadvantages, the "Spaniards in those islands had of late imposed "new duties upon the wine, and laid other imposi- "tions upon the merchants than the English nation "had been ever accustomed to." They said, "all "these inconveniences proceeded from the immo- "derate appetite this nation hath for that sort of "wine, and therefore they take from them as much "as they can make; and from our own disorder "and irregularity in buying them, and contending "who shall get the most, and so raising the price "upon one another, and making the Spaniards

"themselves the judges what the merchants shall 1665.
"pay."

The lords, upon consultation between themselves, found the matter too hard for them, and that the reformation of so much evil must be made by degrees, and upon a representation of the whole, with the difficulties which attended it, to the king and his privy-council, whose wisdoms only could provide a remedy proportionable to the mischiefs. For the present, as they resolved not to raise the prices at which wine was at that time bought and sold, (which they believed, how reasonably soever it might be done, would yet be very unpopular,) so they thought it not just to draw down and abate those prices, since it appeared to them that the wines cost more in proportion upon the places of their growth. They declared therefore to the merchants and to the vintners, "that though for the present they would per-
"mit the same prices to continue for the next year,
"which they had been sold for the present year," and which indeed were confirmed by the late act of parliament, "they should hereafter take care what
"markets they made; for that they were resolved
"the next year to make the prices much lower both
"to the merchant and to the vintner:" and so, upon the report made by the lords of the whole matter to the king in council, and of what they thought fit to be done for the present, a proclamation was published accordingly.

The next year both the merchants and vintners were very earnest suitors to the lords at their accustomed meeting, that greater prices might be allowed, or at least that the same might be continued; making it very evident, that their wines cost them

1665. more than they had done the year before. Upon the debate the Canary merchants were much divided. Some of them insisted very importunately to have the price raised, "because it was notorious that "they had paid much more than formerly, by rea- "son," as they alleged, "that the vintage had not "yielded near the proportion that it used to do." Others, though confessing the increase of price, yet pretended a more public spirit and the necessity of a reformation: and therefore they pressed as earnestly, "that the price might not be raised, but that "they might be permitted to take what they had "done already for this year." It was quickly discovered whence this moderation proceeded; and that the last proposers had a great quantity of wine upon their hands, which had been provided the year before, and so might well be sold at the same price; but that the former had no old wine left, but were supplied with a full provision of new, which had cost them so much dearer. Both the one and the other desired the lords, "that whatever resolution "they took for the present, a clause might be in- "serted in the proclamation, that, the next year "which followed, Canary wine should not be sold "for above four and twenty pounds the pipe, and "that every year after it should be drawn lower," as it might well be, it having been sold in the year 1640 for twenty pounds the pipe; though, in the year when his majesty returned, it had been permitted to be sold at six and thirty pounds the pipe. "Such a clause," they said, "would give notice to "the islanders, and oblige them to sell their wines "at more reasonable rates, and would render the "merchants unexcusable if they should give greater."

Notwithstanding all their allegations, the lords remembered what they had declared to them the last year, which was as fair a warning as any thing they could now say would be. And accordingly they set lower prices upon all wines for the year to come than had been allowed the last, as the most effectual warning for the future: which was thought a very rigorous proceeding; but being reported to the king and council, what they had done was allowed and confirmed, and his majesty was well contented that such a clause as they had proposed should be inserted in the proclamation; which was accordingly done. 1665.

The year following, when the lords met again according to custom, which is, as hath been said, about Christmas, they found not the least reformation; on the contrary, that the Canary merchants had paid dearer than ever, which made them all more solicitous to have the price raised, and the vintners as importunate for their retail. And indeed the vintners seemed to be in a much worse condition than the merchants. And they made it appear, "that they were often compelled to pay "higher prices to the merchant than were[1] imposed "by their lordships; without which they could get "no good wine, and so must give over their keeping house: that the penalty upon the merchant "was very small, being not above forty shillings a "pipe, and the crime not easy to be discovered, as "was evident by there not having been one merchant questioned in many years for that common "transgression; whereas on the vintner's part the

[1] were] was.

1665. "penalty was very severe, and easily discovered by "any man who went to a tavern and would be an "informer, and that most of the vintners in Lon- "don were at that very time sued in the exchequer "upon those very penalties, which, if exacted, must "produce their ruin."

The merchants excused themselves for their present pretence, and for their having given more for their wines than was lawful for them to have done by their own desire: "that they had done their "best, and that the greatest traders amongst them "had consented between themselves not to suffer "the prices to be raised upon them; but that they "found it ineffectual, and that though they should "give over their trades, it would produce no refor- "mation. That the trade was open to all adven- "turers, and that there had been many ships sent "from England in that very year by Jews, and "people of several trades, who had never been be- "fore known to trade to the Canaries: insomuch "as when they who had been long bred up to the "trade, and had been long factors in those islands, "sent their ships thither, they found other English "ships there, and the wines bought at a greater "price than they had allowed their factors to give; "so that they must either have their ships return "empty and unladen, or take the wines at the prices "other men gave. That they had chosen the latter, as "well to continue their trade, as to draw home some "part of the stock they had in that country. That "they could imagine but two ways to reform that "excess: the one, by putting the trade into such a "method and [m] under such rules, as might restrain

[m] and] as *in MS.*

" that license, and not leave it in the power of per- 1665.
" sons who never had been in the trade to give the
" law to it; and by this means the islanders would
" find it necessary to set reasonable prices upon
" their commodities, and to yield such other advan-
" tages and privileges to the merchants as they had
" heretofore enjoyed. The other, that the king
" would by his proclamation prohibit the importa-
" tion of any Canary wines into his dominions: and
" hereby he would quickly receive such propositions
" from Spain, as would put it into his own power to
" make the reformation; otherwise the islanders had
" been persuaded that England could not live with-
" out their wines."

The lords were resolved, notwithstanding all that had been said, that they would execute the former proclamation, and reduce the prices of wines to what had been then determined: and after they had given a full account of the whole business to the king in council, the resolution was approved, and a proclamation was issued out to that purpose. The merchants and vintners applied themselves to his majesty, and to many of the lords of the council, and thought they had encouragement enough to hope for a relief in an appeal to the king and council by petition; and they had thereupon a day assigned to be heard. Many of the lords thought it very hard, if not unjust, to compel men to sell cheaper than they bought, which was the truth of the case, and which must oblige both merchants and vintners to sophisticate and corrupt their wines to preserve their estates; which might probably turn to the great damage of the whole kingdom, in producing sickness and diseases: and this charitable

1665. and generous consideration prevailed with the major part of the lords to be well contented, and to wish that some indulgence might be exercised towards them. On the contrary, when the king had well weighed the whole proceedings, and with trouble and indignation considered the obstinate vice of the nation, which made it ridiculous to all the world, he expressed a positive resolution to vindicate himself and his government from this reproach. He thought the adhering firmly to the prices which had been resolved upon by the lords would be the best preface to this reformation, though it might be attended with particular damage to particular persons, who had yet less cause to complain, because their own advice had been followed. And thereupon his majesty declared, "that he would make no alteration;" but withal told them, "that if they could make any "proposition to him for the better regulation of the "trade," (for they had themselves mentioned a charter,) "he would graciously receive any propositions "they would make, and gratify them in what was "just:" and so, notwithstanding all attempts which were often repeated, the price set by the lords was ratified for the year following.

The principal Canary merchants petition for a charter.

Shortly after, many of the merchants who had always traded to the Canaries did petition the king, "that they might be incorporated; and that none "might be permitted to trade thither but such who "would be of that corporation, and observe the con-"stitutions which should be made by them:" which petition was presented to the king at the council-board; and being read, his majesty (according to his custom in matters of difficulty and public concernment) directed it to be read again on that

day month, at which time his majesty presumed 1665.
that all who would oppose it would present their reasons and objections against it, which he desired to hear. At the day appointed, though there was no petition against it, yet it was observed that there were many of the most eminent merchants of that trade, whose names were not to the petition, nor who[n] otherwise appeared desirous to have a charter granted: which his majesty considering, he put off the debate for another week, and directed "that the other "merchants by name should be desired to be present, "and to give their advice freely upon the point."

And there was at that day a very full appearance; when his majesty directed, "that a relation should "be made to them of the whole progress that had "been in the business, and the damage and disho- "nour the nation underwent in the carrying on "that trade: that many merchants had presented a "petition to him, containing an expedient to bring "it into better order; but finding them not to ap- "pear in it, and being informed that they were best "acquainted with and most engaged in that trade, "he had sent for them to know their opinion, whe- "ther they thought what was proposed to be rea- "sonable and fit to be granted, and if so, why they "did not concern themselves in it." They answered, "that the reason why they had not ap- "peared in it was, because they thought they "should be losers by it; and therefore were not soli- "citous to procure a grant from his majesty to their "own damage;" and so enlarged "upon the nature "of the trade, their long experience in it, and the "greatness of their stock, which they should not be

[n] who] *Not in MS.*

1665. "allowed to continue under any regulation. But "as they did not think themselves in a situation[o] "to be solicitous for a change, so they could not "deny, being required by his majesty to speak the "truth, but that the proposition that was made was "for the public good and benefit of the kingdom, "and that they conceived no other way to redeem "that trade, and the nation from the insolence "which the Spaniard exercised upon them;" implying, "that if his majesty would command them, "they would likewise concur and join in the carrying on the service." To which his majesty giving them gracious encouragement, they all seemed to depart of one mind; and his majesty remained confirmed in the former opinion he had of it.

The king approves the petition.

But there remained yet an objection, which was principally insisted on by the ministers of the revenue, who alleged very reasonably, "that this new-"modelling the trade must produce some alteration, "and would meet some opposition from the Spaniard, which for the time would lessen the customs "and entitle the farmers to a defalcation." The petition was therefore referred to the farmers of the customs, who were to attend the next council-day: and being then called, they did acknowledge, "that "the design proposed would prove very profitable "to the kingdom in many respects," upon which they enlarged, "and that in the end it would not be "attended with any diminutions of the customs; "but for the present," they said, "they could not "but expect, that the obstinacy and contradiction of "the Spaniard would give such a stop to trade, at

[o] in a situation] *Not in MS.*

"least for one year, that if his majesty did not reim- 1665.
"burse them for what should fall short in the re-
"ceipt of custom, they must look to be very great
"losers." The merchants on the other hand offered
"to be bound, that if they did not the first year
"bring in as much as had been usually entered,
"they would make good what should be wanting to
"the farmers upon a medium." Whereupon his majesty himself declared, "that he would not, for a "small damage to himself, hinder the kingdom "from enjoying so great a benefit:" and he commanded his solicitor general, who then attended the board, "to prepare such a charter as might provide "for all those good ends which were desired in the "petition," and which had been so largely debated; and it was notorious, that there had never been a greater concurrence of the board in any direction.

Many months passed before the charter was prepared; in which time there was never the least new objection made against it, nor was it known that any man was unsatisfied with it. After it was engrossed and had passed the king's hand, it was brought to the great seal; and there the lord mayor of London and the court of aldermen had entered a caveat to stop the passing of it. The chancellor, according to course, appointed a time when he would hear all parties. The city alleged an order made a year or two before by the king in council, upon a complaint then exhibited by the court of aldermen against the Turkey company and other corporations, "in which," they said, "there were very many mer-"chants of the best trade and of the greatest estates "in the city, who would never take out their free-

The city of London opposes it.

1665. "dom; and so refused to bear any charge or office "in it, to the very great prejudice and dishonour of "the city and of the government thereof; since "they were thereby compelled to call inferior ci- "tizens to be aldermen, before they had estates to "bear the charge of it, whilst the gravest and "the richest men, who were most fit, could not be "obliged to accept of it, because they were not free- "men." The persons concerned, which were indeed a great number of very valuable and substantial men and of great estates, answered, "that they had "traded very many years without finding any rea- "son to take out their freedom, which they might "do or not do as they thought best for themselves; "that they had always paid scot and lot in the se- "veral parishes where they lived with the highest of "the inhabitants, and were taxed the more because "they had not taken out their freedom, they who "taxed them being always freemen; that they "were grown old now, and had no mind to become "young freemen, but would rather give over their "trade, and retire into the country where they had "estates."

Besides the rules which the king gave upon the difference then in question, he was pleased to de- clare, and appointed it to be entered as an order in the council-book, "that care should be taken, that "in all charters which he should hereafter renew or "grant to any companies or corporations in the city "of London, they should first make themselves free- "men of the city; by which they might be liable "to the charges of it, as other citizens are." They said, "that there were many of this company that "was now to be incorporated who were not free-

"men:" and therefore the lord mayor and court of aldermen desired the benefit of the king's order, which was read. 1665.

The merchants confessed, "that many of them "were not freemen, and resolved not to be:" they said, "they had never heard of this order, and were "sorry that they had spent so much money to no "purpose." The chancellor declared to them, "that "he could not seal their charter till they had com- "plied with the king's determination, and given the "court of aldermen satisfaction:" and they all seemed as positive that they would rather be without their charter, than they would submit to the other inconveniences: and so they departed. But after some days' deliberation and consultation between themselves, and when they found that there was no possibility to procure a dispensation from that order, they treated with the city, and agreed with them in the preparing a clause to be inserted in their charter, by which they were obliged in so many years to become freemen; which clause, being approved by all parties, was in the king's presence entered in the bill that his majesty had signed, and being afterwards added to the engrossment, it was again thus reformed and sent to the great seal, and presented to the chancellor to be sealed.

The chancellor refuses to put the seal till the merchants had satisfied the city.

There were by this time several new caveats entered against it at the seal; all which the chancellor heard, and settled every one of them to the joint satisfaction of all parties, and all caveats were withdrawn. There was then a rumour, that there would be some motions made against it in the house of commons: and some parliament-men, who serv-

1665. ed for the western boroughs, came to the chancellor, and desired him "that he would defer the sealing it "for some days till they might be heard, since it "would undo their western trade; and," they said, "they resolved to move the house of commons to "put a stop to it." The chancellor informed them of the whole progress it had passed, and told them; "he believed that they would hardly be able to "offer any good reasons against it;" however, since it was then well known that the parliament would be prorogued within ten or twelve days, he said "he would suspend the sealing it till then, to "the end that they might offer any objections "against it there or any where else." But though the parliament sat longer than it was then conceived it would have done, there was no mention or notice taken of it: and after the prorogation no application was further made for the stopping it, and the merchants pressed very importunately that it might be sealed, alleging with reason "that the de-"ferring it so long had been very much to their "prejudice." Whereupon the chancellor conceived that it would not consist with his duty to delay it longer, and so affixed the great seal to it.

The company then chose a governor and other officers according to their charter, and made such orders and by-laws as they thought fit for the carrying on and advancement of their trade, which they might alter when they thought convenient; and for the present they resolved upon a joint stock, and assigned so many shares to each particular man. In this composition and distribution there fell out some difference between themselves, which could not be taken notice of abroad: and even some of

Some differences in the company after their incorporation.

them, who first petitioned and were most solicitous to procure the charter, did what they could to hinder the effect of it; sent privately to their factors at the Canaries, "to oppose any orders that should "be sent from the governor and the company, and "that they should do all they could to incense the "Spaniards against the charter," and bade them promise "that all their wine should be taken off in "spite of the corporation." Whereupon great disorders did arise in the Canaries between the English themselves; and by the conjunction of the Spaniards with those few English who opposed the charter, they proceeded so far as to send the principal factors for the company out of the island into Spain, and to make a public act by the governor and council there, "that no ship belonging to the company "should be suffered to come into the harbour, or to "take in any lading from the island:" all which was transacted there many months before it was known in England, and probably would have been prevented or easily reformed, if it had not pleased God that the plague at this time spread very much in London, and if the war with the Dutch had not restrained all English ships from going to the Canaries for the space of a year; which intermission, not to be prevented nor in truth foreseen, gave some advantage to the merchants at home who opposed their charter, who complained for the not-return of their several stocks within the time that the company had promised they should be returned. 1665.

I am not willing to resume this discourse in another place, which I should be compelled to do if I discontinued the relation in this place, as in point

1665. of time I should do; but I choose rather to insert here what fell out afterwards, and to finish the account of that affair, that there may be no occasion in the current of this narration to mention any particulars that related to it.

When the king was at Oxford, and was informed of what had passed at the Canaries, some merchants appeared there to petition against the charter, whereof there were some who were the first petitioners for it. His majesty appointed a day for the solemn hearing it in the presence of his privy-council, the governor being likewise summoned and present there. Upon opening all their grievances the petitioners themselves confessed, "that they could "not complain of the charter; that it was a just and "necessary charter, and for the great benefit of the "kingdom, though some private men might for "the present be losers by it: that their complaint "was only against their constitutions and by-laws, "and the severe prosecution thereupon contrary to "the intention of the charter itself;" instancing, amongst other things, "the very short day limited "by the charter, after which they could not continue "their trade without being members of the corpo-"ration; and that day was so soon after the sealing "the charter, that it was not possible for them to "draw their stocks from thence in so short a time."

Which are referred to the king;

When they had finished all their objections, the king observed to them, "that they complained only "of what themselves had done, and not at all of the "charter, which gave them only authority to choose "a governor, and to make constitutions and by-"laws, but directed not what the constitutions and "by-laws should be, which were the result of their

"own consultations [p], in which the major part must 1665.
"have concurred; and of that kind the resolution
"for a joint stock was one, which and all the rest
"they might alter again at the next court, if the
"major part were grieved with it." But because they had complained of some particulars, in which they might have reason on their side, his majesty expressed a willingness to mediate and to make an agreement between them; and thereupon he required the governor to answer such and such particulars which seemed to have most of justice; but the governor answered all at large, and made it clearly appear, that they had in truth no cause of complaint. As to the short day that was assigned for the drawing away their stocks, which had the greatest semblance of reason in all they complained of, he said, "they had no reason to mention their "want of warning, for that the day was well enough "known to them long before the sealing the char-"ter, and might very well have been complied "with," (the reasons why the sealing the charter was so long deferred are set down before,) "and "could be no reason to them to neglect the giving "direction in their own concernments; but that "they knew likewise, that the day was enlarged to "a day desired by themselves, that there might be "no pretence for discontent:" and thereupon the order of the court to that purpose was read to his majesty, and they could not deny it to be true.

In conclusion, since it did appear that their stock did in truth still remain in the Canaries, and in justice belonged to them, whether it was their fault or

[p] consultations] *erroneously in MS.* constitutions

1665. their misfortune that it had not been drawn over in time; the king persuaded the governor and his assistants to give them such satisfaction in that and other particulars, that before they retired from his majesty's presence they were unanimously agreed upon all their pretences: and though some of the lords, upon some insinuations and discourses which they had heard, had believed the company to have been in the wrong, they were now fully convinced of the contrary, and believed the charter to be founded upon great reason of state, and that the execution of it had been very justifiable and with great moderation. And it is to be observed, that the parliament being then assembled at Oxford, there was not the least complaint against that charter or corporation.

Who satisfies all parties.

A vindication of the chancellor in this affair.

And this was the whole progress of that affair, until it served some men's turns to make it afterwards matter of reproach to the chancellor, in a time when he had too great a weight of the king's displeasure upon him to defend himself from that and other calumnies, which few men thought him guilty of. And if the motives of state were not of weight enough to support the patent, more ought not to be objected to him than to every other counsellor, there having never[q] been a more unanimous concurrence at that board in any advice they have given: and the delays he used in the passing the charter after it came to his hand, his giving so long time for the making objections against it, and his so positively opposing the company with reference to their being freemen of the city, are no signs that he had

[q] never] *Omitted in MS.*

such a mind to please them, as a man would have who had been corrupted by them, or who was to have a share in the profit of the patent, as was afterwards suggested, but never believed by any to whom he was in any degree known, who knew well that he frequently refused to receive money that he might very lawfully have done, and never took a penny which he was obliged to refuse. He was indeed, as often at that affair came to be debated, very clear in his judgment for the king's granting it, and always continued of the same opinion: nor did he ever deny, that some months after the patent was sealed the governor made him a present in the name of the corporation, as it is presumed he did to many other officers through whose hands it passed, and which was never refused by any of his predecessors when it came from a community upon the passing a charter; which he never concealed from the king, who thought he might well do it. In the last place it is to be remembered, that after all the clamour against this charter in parliament, and upon the arguing against the legality of it by eminent lawyers before the house of peers, it was so well supported by the king's attorney general and other learned lawyers, that the lords would not give judgment against it: but the governor and the corporation durst not dispute it further with the house of commons, but chose to surrender their charter into the king's hands. 1665.

The French had their ambassador, monsieur Comminge, remaining still in England, who pretended to be ready to finish still the treaty of commerce, but formalized so much upon every article, though

1665. nothing was demanded but what had been granted to Cromwell, that it was concluded that he wanted power, though somewhat was imputed to the capriciousness of his nature, which made him hard to treat with, and not always vacant at the hours himself assigned, being hypochondriac and seldom sleeping without opium. As soon as the war was declared, the king of France sent two other ambassadors, whereof, for the countenance and splendour of it, the duke of Vernueil was one, who being uncle to both the kings was received rather under that relation than in the other capacity, and was lodged and treated by the king during the whole time of his stay. With him came likewise monsieur Courtine, a master of requests, and much the quickest[r] man of the three, and upon whose parts and address most of the business depended. The former ambassador was joined in commission with the other two: and their declared business was to mediate a peace between the king and the Dutch, when there had been yet little harm done, only great preparations made on both sides for the war; which they did not seem very solicitous to interrupt, but contented themselves with declaring at their first audience, "that the king their master out of Christianity, "and to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, de- "sired to mediate a peace, which the States of the "United Provinces were very willing[s] he should do, "and professed to have a very great desire of peace; "which made his Christian majesty hope that he "should find the same good inclinations here, and "if he might be informed what his majesty did re-

The French send ambassadors into England under pretence of mediation.

[r] quic'est] quicker [s] willing] *Omitted in MS.*

" quire, or what would be grateful to him, he did 1665.
" not doubt but that he should persuade the States to
" submit to it."

And with this general discourse, and without delivering any memorial in writing, the ambassadors acquiesced for many months, as if their business was only that the Dutch ambassador, who remained still in London, might know and send word to his masters that they had begun their mediation. Otherwise they seemed in all their discourses to make some kind of apology for being sent, implying, " as if the " extraordinary importunity of the Dutch had pre- " vailed with the king to undertake this mediation, " and which he did the rather, upon their promise " that they would yield to any thing he should " advise them; and he was very far from desiring " that his majesty might not receive ample satisfac- " tion in whatsoever he required:" so that the king did not imagine, whatever information he had received before, and whatever jealousy he had entertained, that this embassy would be concluded in the denunciation of a war against him. Nor is it probable that the ambassadors themselves at that time knew that they were to perform that office, though it was afterwards evident that the matter had been long before resolved in France. They lived between the two courts, for the queen mother was likewise at that time at her palace of Somerset-house, in much jollity, and as vacant from any affairs till they might receive new orders from court, but spending much time with the Dutch ambassador, whom they persuaded " that they were very intent upon and " had much advanced the treaty," as appeared by the ambassador's letters to the Hague.

1665. The plague increased so fast, that the queen mother, who had all the winter complained of her indisposition of health, and declared that she would in the summer go again into France, took that occasion, albeit she was recovered to a very good state; and about the end of July removed and embarked for France, and took so many things with her, that it was thought by many that she did not intend ever to return into England. Whatever her intentions at that time were, she never did see England again, though she lived many years after.

The queen mother leaves England.

The duke continually sends for reinforcements.

It was in April that the duke went to sea: and from the day of his going thither with the fleet, letters and orders came from him to the day of the battle for an addition of more ships, upon intelligence of an increase of strength added to the enemy, though they yet lay still in the harbours, whilst the duke was upon their coasts. But Mr. Coventry still made new demands, and wrote to the chancellor, "that whilst the king's brother was at sea and ven-"tured his own person, nobody who wished him "well[t] would, for saving money, hinder any thing "from being sent that his highness thought neces-"sary for his defence:" and all things were sent, though procured with wonderful difficulty.

The treasurer had believed, when all the provisions were delivered which had been demanded, and all computations satisfied which had been made, and the fleet at sea, that there would have been no more expense till its return; whereas every day added new expense which had not been thought of: and the requiring of more ships was then believed, and

[t] well] *Omitted in MS.*

more afterwards, to proceed from the restless spirit of Mr. Coventry, who cared not how much he increased[u] the expense, and was willing to put the treasurer and all the king's ministers to contend with all difficulties, that he might reproach their laziness or want of ability. But they did not gratify him in that, but all the ships, and whatever else was sent for, were sent; insomuch as the fleet amounted to no less than one hundred sail, and was now retired, for want of somewhat to do, to our own coast, where they resolved to attend the motion of the enemy: and in this time most of the volunteers, having endured the unpleasantness of the sea above a month, begun to think that the war was not so necessary as they had thought it to be. 1665. He retires to the English coast.

The duke's family, that was numerous in his own ship, were not at ease, and found less respect from the seamen than they had[x] looked for: they grew into factions between themselves, and the earl of Falmouth and Mr. Coventry were rivals who should have most interest in the duke, who loved the earl best, but thought the other the wiser man, who supported Pen (who disobliged all the courtiers) even against the earl, who contemned Pen as a fellow of no sense, and not worthy of the charge and trust that was reposed in him. In this discomposure and having nothing to do, every body grew angry at the occasion that brought them thither, and wished for peace.

The earl of Falmouth, as in a time of leisure, was sent by the duke with compliments to the king, and to give him an account of the good state of the-

[u] how much he increased] to increase [x] had] *Not in MS.*

1665. fleet: he visited the chancellor, to whom he had always paid great respect and made many professions; and he told him, "that they were all mad who had "wished this war, and that himself had been made "a fool to contribute to it, but that his eyes were "open, and a month's experience at sea had enough "informed him of the great hazards the king ran in "it." He reproached Pen "as a sot, and a fellow "that [y] he thought would be found without courage." He told him, "that the king and the duke too were "both inclined to peace, and discerned that the "charge and expense of the war would be insupportable;" and concluded, "that as soon as this "action should be over, which could not be avoided "many days if the Dutch fleet put to sea, as it could "not be doubted it would, it would be good time to "make a peace, which he desired him to think of, "and to speak with the king, whom he would find "disposed to it:" and so he returned to the fleet.

The Dutch fleet puts out to sea under Opdam.

And by that time the Dutch were come out, and the next day were in view. They were near of equal number, and well manned, under the command of Opdam, the admiral of the whole fleet, upon whom the States had conferred that charge, that the prince of Orange's party might conclude, that they never intended that he should have the charges of his father and grandfather, and likewise to gratify the nobility of Holland, that had a very small share in the government. And this gentleman, who had never been at sea before, and had but a small fortune, was of that number, and had joined with that faction which was averse from the family of Orange.

[y] that] *Not in MS.*

The fleets came within sight of each other on the first of June, and had some skirmishes, which continued on the second, the wind favouring neither party, as willing to keep them asunder: but upon the third it served both their turns, and brought them as near each other as they could desire to be. 1665.

Nor did the Dutch seem to advance with less courage and resolution. Opdam the Dutch admiral with his squadron bore directly upon the duke, with a resolution to board him: but before he came near enough, and very little before, whether by an accident within his own ship, or from a grenado or other shot out of the duke's ship, his gunroom took fire, and in a moment the ship sunk without any man being saved. The vice-admiral of the same squadron, being a Zealander, pursued the same resolution, and had boarded the duke if captain Jeremy Smith, a captain of the duke's squadron, had not put himself between and boarded the vice-admiral, who was equally attacked by the duke: and so that ship was taken after most of the men were killed; and the captain himself was so wounded, that he only lived to be brought on board the duke's ship, and to complain of his companions "for not having seconded him "according to an oath they had taken on board their "admiral the day before," and died within half an hour, to the great trouble of the duke, who gave him a great testimony for a very gallant man, and much desired to preserve him. The first general engagement.

The fight continued all the day with very great loss of men on all sides, though after the first two hours the Dutch, seeing many of their best ships burned and more taken, did all that the wind would give them leave to separate themselves from the The Dutch are worsted.

1665. English fleet, which pursued them so close, that they found they lost more by flying than by fighting, and did lessen their sails to give some stop to the pursuit till the night might favour them: and the evening no sooner came, but they hoisted up all their sails, and intended nothing but their escape.

When there was no more to be done by the approach of the night, the duke, who was infinitely tired with the labour of the day, having lost above two hundred men aboard his own ship, whereof some were[z] persons of quality, who stood next his own person, and shall be named anon, was prevailed with to repose himself after he had taken some sustenance; which he did, after he had given the master of the ship, an honest and a skilful seaman, direct and positive charge "to bear up in that manner "upon the Dutch fleet that he might lose no ground, "but find himself as near, when the day should "appear, as he was then when he went to sleep." The fleet had no guide but the lanthorn of the admiral, and were not to outsail him of course, and behaved themselves accordingly. But when the duke arose and the day appeared, the Dutch fleet was out of view; and before he could reach them, they were got into their ports, or under the shelter of their flats, that it was not counsellable for the great ships to pursue them further: yet some of those ships which made not so much way, or had not steered so directly, were taken by the lesser ships that followed them. And the duke had received so many blows on his own and the other ships, that it was necessary to retire into[a] port, where they might be repaired.

The remainder of their fleet escapes by night.

[z] were] *Omitted in MS.* [a] into] in

It was a day of signal triumph, the action of it having much surpassed all that was done in Cromwell's time, whose navals were much greater than had ever been in any age: but the Dutch had never then fought with so much courage and resolution; nor were their ships then in strength to be compared to the English, as Van Trump assured them, "and that except they built better ships, they would "be as often beaten as they fought with the Eng- "lish." And from that time they new-built all their navy, and brought now with them as good ships as any the king had: and the men for some hours behaved themselves well. In that day the duke sunk, burned, and took eighteen good ships of war, whereof half were of the best they had, with the loss of one single small ship, for there was no more missing of his whole fleet. It is true the number of the killed and wounded men was very great, and was thought the greater, because in the great massacre that was on the other side there was no man, except Opdam their admiral, who had a name. There were many excellent officers killed and taken, men of courage and of great experience in naval affairs, and therefore an irreparable damage to them; but they had grown up from common seamen, and so were of no other quality than every mariner of the fleet. 1665. The great loss of the Dutch.

On the part of the English, besides above two hundred men that were killed on board the duke's own ship, there fell the earl of Falmouth, who hath been lately spoken of, and the lord Muskerry, eldest son to the earl of Clancarty, a young man of extraordinary courage and expectation, who had been colonel of a regiment of foot in Flanders under the Persons slain on the side of the English: The earl of Falmouth; Lord Muskerry;

1665. duke, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer: he was of the duke's bedchamber, and the earl and he were at that time so near the duke, that his highness was all covered with their blood.

Mr. Richard Boyle; There fell likewise in the same ship Mr. Richard Boyle, a younger son of the earl of Burlington, a youth of great hope, who came newly home from travel, where he had spent his time with singular advantage, and took the first opportunity to lose his life in the king's service. There were many other gentlemen volunteers in the same ship, who had the same fate.

In prince Rupert's ship, who did wonders that day, and in that of the earl of Sandwich, who behaved him with notable courage and conduct, there were very many men slain, and some gentlemen volunteers, of the best families, whose memories should

The earl of Marlborough; be preserved. The earl of Marlborough, who had the command of one of the best ships, and had great experience at sea, having made many long voyages at sea, and being now newly returned from the East Indies, whither the king had sent him with a squadron of ships to receive the island of Bombayne from Portugal, was in this battle likewise slain. He was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired; but with more reputation than any fortune could

The earl of Portland; have given him. The earl of Portland was a volunteer on board his ship, and lost his life by his side, being a young man of very good parts, newly come of age, and the son of a very wise and worthy father, who died few months before: and he having

a long and entire friendship with the earl of Marlborough, his son, though of a melancholic nature, intended to lead an active life, and to apply himself to it under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died very bravely. 1665.

There was another almost irreparable loss this day in sir John Lawson, who was admiral of a squadron, and of so eminent skill and conduct in all maritime occasions, that his counsel was most considered in all debates, and the greatest seamen were ready to receive advice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a shot with a musket-bullet upon the knee, with which he fell: and finding that he could no more stand, and was in great torment, he sent to the duke to desire him to send another man to command his ship; which he presently did. The wound was not conceived to be mortal; and they made haste to send him on shore, as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where for some days there was hope of his recovery; but shortly his wound gangrened, and so he died with very great courage, and profession of an entire duty and fidelity to the king. And sir John Lawson;

He was indeed of all the men of that time, and of that extraction and education, incomparably the modestest and the wisest man, and most worthy to be confided in. He was of Yorkshire near Scarborough, of that rank of people who are bred to the sea from their cradle. And a young man of that profession he was, when the parliament first possessed themselves of the royal navy; and Hull being in their hands, all the northern seamen easily betook themselves to their service: and his industry and sobriety made him quickly taken notice His character.

1665. of, and to be preferred from one degree to another, till from a common sailor he was promoted to be a captain of a small vessel, and from thence to the command of the best ships.

He had been in all the actions performed by Blake, some of which were very stupendous, and in all the battles which Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in which he was a signal officer and very much valued by him. He was of that classis of religion which were called independents, most of which were anabaptists, who were generally believed to have most aversion to the king, and therefore employed in most offices of trust. He was commander in chief of the fleet when Richard was thrown out: and when the contest grew between the rump and Lambert, he brought the whole fleet into the river, and declared for that which was called the parliament; which brake the neck of all other designs, though he intended only the better settlement of the commonwealth.

When the council of state was settled between the dissolution of the rump and the calling the parliament, they did not like the temper of the fleet, nor especially of Lawson, who, under the title of vice-admiral, had the whole command of the fleet, which was very strong, and in which there were many captains they liked well: yet they durst not remove the vice-admiral, lest his interest in the seamen, which was very great, should give them new trouble. The expedient they resolved upon was to send colonel Mountague as admiral to command the fleet, without removing Lawson, who continued still in his command, and could not refuse to be commanded by Mountague, who had always been his

superior officer, and who had likewise a great interest in very many of the officers and seamen. Yet Mountague, who brought with him a firm resolution to serve the king, which was well known to his majesty, had no confidence in Lawson till the parliament had proclaimed the king: and when he brought the fleet to Scheveling to receive the king, all men looked upon the vice-admiral as a great anabaptist, and not fit to be trusted. But when the king and the duke had conferred with him, they liked him very well: and he was from time to time in the command of vice-admiral in all the fleets which were sent into the Mediterranean. Nor did any man perform his duty better: he caused all persons, how well qualified soever, who he knew were affected to a republic, to be dismissed from the service, and brought very good order into his own ship, and frequented the church-prayers himself, and made all the seamen do so. He was very remarkable in his affection and countenance towards all those who had faithfully served the king, and never commended any body to the duke to be preferred but such; and performed to his death all that could be expected from a brave and an honest man. 1665.

It looked like some presage that he had of his own death, that before he went to sea he came to the treasurer and the chancellor, to whom he had always borne much respect, and spake to them in a dialect he had never before used, for he was a very generous man, and lived in his house decently and plentifully, and had never made any the least suit or pretence for money. Now he told them, "that "he was going upon an expedition in which many "honest men must lose their lives: and though he

1665. "had no apprehension of himself, but that God "would protect him as he had often done in the "same occasions, yet he thought it became him "against the worst to make his condition known to "them, and the rather, because he knew he was es- "teemed generally to be rich." He said, "in truth "he thought himself so some few months since, "when he was worth eight or nine thousand "pounds: but the marriage of his daughter to a "young gentleman in quality and fortune much "above him, (Mr. Richard Norton of Southwick in "Hampshire, who had fallen in love with her, and "his father, out of tenderness to his son, had con- "sented to it,) had obliged him to give her such a "portion as might in some degree make her worthy "of so great a fortune; and that he had not re- "served so much to himself and wife, and all his "other children, which were four or five, as he had "given to that daughter." He desired them there- fore, "that if he should miscarry in this enterprise, "the king would give his wife two hundred pounds "a year for her life; if he lived, he desired no- "thing. He hoped he should make some provision "for them by his own industry: nor did he desire "any other grant or security for this two hundred "pounds yearly, than the king's word and promise, "and that they would see it effectual." The suit was so modest, and the ground of making it so just and reasonable, that they willingly informed his ma- jesty of it, who as graciously granted it, and spake himself to him of it with very obliging circum- stances; so that the poor man went very contentedly to his work, and perished as gallantly in it with an universal lamentation. And it is to be presumed

that the promise was as well performed to his wife: 1665.
sure it is, it was exactly complied with whilst either of those two persons had any power.

The victory and triumph of that day was surely very great, and a just argument of public joy: how it came to be no greater shall be said anon. And the trouble and grief in many noble families, for the loss of so many worthy and gallant persons, could not but be very lamentable in wives, in fathers and mothers, and the other nearest relations: but no sorrow was equal, at least none so remarkable, as the king's was for the earl of Falmouth. They who knew his majesty best, and had seen how unshaken he had stood in other very terrible assaults, were amazed at the flood of tears he shed upon this occasion The immenseness of the victory, and the consequences that might have attended it; the safety and preservation of his brother with so much glory, on whose behalf he had had so terrible apprehensions during the three days' fight, having by the benefit of the wind heard the thunder of the ordnance from the beginning, even after by the lessening of the noise, as from a greater distance, he concluded that the enemy was upon flight: yet all this, and the universal joy that he saw in the countenance of all men for the victory and the safety of the duke, made no impression in him towards the mitigation of his passion for the loss of this young favourite, in whom few other men had ever observed any virtue or quality which they did not wish their best friends without; and very many did believe that his death was a great ingredient and considerable part of the victory. He was young and of insatiable ambition; and a little more experience might have taught him

The king greatly troubled at the death of the earl of Falmouth.

1665. all things which his weak parts were capable of. But they who observed the strange degree of favour he had on the sudden arrived to, even from a detestation the king had towards him, and concluded from thence, and more from the deep sorrow the king was possessed with for his death, to what a prodigious height he might have reached in a little time more, were not at all troubled that he was taken out of the way.

The duke, after he had given directions for the speedy repairing of the fleet, and for the present sending out such ships as could quickly be made ready to ride[b] before the coast of Holland, made haste to present himself to the king, and to the queen his mother, who was ready to begin her journey to France, and had stayed some days to see the success of the naval fight, and afterwards to see the duke; and within few days after his arrival her majesty left the kingdom.

The reason why the victory was no further improved.

And now the whisper began in the duke's family of the reason, why the victory, after so great advantages, had not been pursued with that vigour that might have made it more destructive to the enemy than it proved to be. The master of the duke's ship (captain .....) pursued his orders very punctually after the duke was gone to sleep, and kept within a just distance of the Dutch fleet that remained in order together, for many fled in confusion and singly to that part of the coast that they thought they knew best; and many of them were taken. But the duke was no sooner in sleep, but Mr. Brounker of his bedchamber, who with wonder-

[b] ride] rise

ful confusion had sustained the terror of the day, 1665.
resolved to prevent the like on the day succeeding. He first went to sir William Pen, who commanded the ship, and told him, "that he knew well how "miraculously the duke was preserved that day; and "that they ought not further to tempt God;" wished him to remember, "that the duke was not only the "king's brother, but the heir apparent of the crown, "and what the consequence would be if he should "be lost. And therefore it would concern him not "to suffer the duke's known and notorious courage "to engage him in a new danger, which he would "infallibly be exposed to [c] the next morning, if they "continued to make so much sail as they did, and "to keep so near the Dutch, who fled, but if they "were pressed and in despair would fight as stoutly "as they had done in the beginning. And there-"fore he desired and advised him to give the master "order to slacken the sails, that the Dutch might "get what ground they could, to avoid a further "encounter." Pen answered him honestly, and told him, "he durst give no such orders, except he had "a mind to be hanged, for the duke had himself "given positive charge to the contrary."

Mr. Brounker, when he could not prevail there, confidently went to the master of the ship, who was an honest and a stout man, and carefully kept the steerage himself, that he might be sure to observe the order he had received from his highness, and told him, "that it was the duke's pleasure that he "should slack the sails, without taking notice of it "to any man." Whereupon the master did as he

[c] exposed to] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. was commanded, making no doubt that a servant so near the person of his highness, and in so much favour with him, would not[d] have brought such an order without due authority.

And by this means the remainder of the fleet escaped, which otherwise would probably have been all taken: for it was afterwards known, that there was such a confusion amongst the officers, that nobody would obey; for though in truth the right of commanding, according to the course observed amongst them, after the death of Opdam, was in the vice-admiral of Zealand, yet, he being likewise killed, the other could not agree. But young Trump, the son of the old famous admiral, who had behaved himself very bravely all the day, challenged the command in the right of Holland; but John Evertson of Zealand, brother to him that was killed, required it as his right: which begat so great an animosity as well as confusion amongst them, that the morning, if they had been pursued, would in all probability have proved[e] as dismal to them as the day before had done.

But the duke never suspected this, nor did any presume to tell him of it, which made many men presume that it was done with privity[f] of Mr. Coventry, not only for the great friendship between him and Brounker, but because both Pen and the master were so silent when the duke was so much troubled the next morning: nor did the duke come to hear of it till some years after, when Mr. Brounker's ill course of life and his abominable nature had rendered him so odious, that it was taken notice of

[d] not] *Omitted in MS.*
[e] proved] *Omitted in MS.*
[f] privity] the privity

in parliament, and upon examination found to be true, as is here related; upon which he was expelled the house of commons, whereof he was a member, as an infamous person, though his friend Coventry adhered to him, and used many indirect arts to have protected him, and afterwards procured him to have more countenance from the king than most men thought he deserved, being a person throughout his whole life never notorious for any thing but the highest degree of impudence, and stooping to the most infamous offices, and playing very well at chess, which preferred him more than the most virtuous qualities could have done. 1665.

With this victory a new vast charge and expense (beside the repairing the hurt ships, masts, and rigging, and fitting out new ships of war, and buying more fireships) appeared, that was never foreseen or brought into any computation; which was a provision for sick and wounded men, which amounted to so great a number upon all the coast, that the charge amounted in all places, notwithstanding the general charity of the people, and the convenience that many hospitals yielded, to above two thousand pounds the week for some weeks, and though less afterwards by the death and recovery of many, yet continued very great; besides the charge of keeping the Dutch prisoners, which were above two thousand, and every day increased.

The queen mother prevents the duke's going to sea again.

The duke was very impatient to repair and set out the fleet again to sea, and resolved nothing more than to go in person again to command it, his family remaining still on board, and preparing such things as were wanting for his accommodation: but the queen mother had prevailed with the king at

1665. parting to promise her, "that the duke should not "go again in person in that expedition;" which was concealed from the duke, his majesty believing that the confidence of his royal highness's going contributed very much to the setting out the fleet, as it did so much, that but for that, it had been impossible to have procured so much money as was with infinite difficulty procured, to satisfy the expenses of so many kinds, whereof many had been unthought of. And towards this there was a benefit that flowed from a fountain of extreme misery, which was the increase of the plague, which spread so fast that the king's staying so long in town was very dangerous. Yet the approach of this great calamity, that in other respects produced great mischiefs, advanced the present enterprise: for all people who had money knew not what to do with it, not daring to leave it in their houses where they durst not stay themselves; so that[g] they willingly put it into the bankers' hands, who supplied the king upon such assignations as the late act of parliament and other branches of the king's revenue would yet bear.

The French ambassadors neglect an opportunity of making peace.

And if at this time the French ambassadors had pursued their office of mediation, it is very probable that it might have been with success. For besides the great loss the Dutch had received in the battle and in their being deprived of so many of the merchants' ships, the factions were irreconcileable in the fleet: there were many officers who had behaved themselves very basely and cowardly in the action, but they knew not how to punish them; Evertson

[g] that] *Not in MS.*

and Trump, who were their best seamen, would not submit to be commanded by each other; the people were ready to rise upon De Wit, upon whom they looked as the occasion of the war, and cried aloud for peace. And the faction amongst the States themselves was very visible: all the other complained bitterly against the province of Holland, "which," they said, "had engaged them in a war against their "will and without their privity, which was directly "contrary to the form and constitution of their go-"vernment." In a word, peace was universally desired and prayed for; and, in the opinion of all men, any reasonable conditions would at that time have been yielded to. And as the people of England generally had not been [h] pleased with the beginning the war, so the court was weary of it; and the king would have been willing to have received any good overtures for the composing it; and the duke, since he was kept from bearing a part in it, would not have opposed it. But the ambassadors pressed no such matter, but congratulated the victory with the same joy they found in the court, and seemed to think that any misfortune that could befall the Dutch would be but a just punishment for their pride and insolence towards all their neighbour princes: the two nations had not yet worried themselves enough, entirely to submit to the arbitration of France; which it resolved they should do. 1665.

Within less than a month the fleet was again prepared and ready for the sea, as strong and in as good a condition as it had been before the battle; and the king and the duke went thither, the duke making The fleet again prepared.

[h] been] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. no doubt of putting his person on board. And the king at that time resolved that prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich should have the joint command of it: in order to which prince Rupert was prepared, of whose easy concurrence only there was some doubt, his majesty promising himself all conformity and resignation from the earl of Sandwich; which he met with in both, for the prince very cheerfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure. In the journey the king acquainted his brother with his resolution, and the promise he had made to the queen their mother; with which the duke was much troubled, and offered many reasons to divert his majesty from laying his command upon him; but when he found there was no remedy, he submitted, and gave orders for disembarking his family and goods.

But when this was communicated to Mr. Coventry, who was to prepare such commissions and warrants as upon this alteration of counsels were necessary, he persuaded the duke, and prevailed with him to believe, "that it would be much better to "commit the sole command of the fleet to the earl "of Sandwich, than to join prince Rupert in it with "him," who, for no other reason but for not esteeming him at the rate he valued himself, had been long in his disfavour. He suggested some defects in the prince, which nobody could absolve him from, and which the gentle temper of the earl of Sandwich, who knew him as well as the other, could have complied with: and many thought it would have in the conjunction produced a very good mixture, the danger from the prince being too sudden resolutions from too much heat and passion, and

the earl having enough of phlegm and wariness in deliberating, and much vigour in the executing what was concluded; and they were both well prepared and inclined to perform the function. 1665.

But Mr. Coventry's advice prevailed both with the duke and king: and so in the instant that the king and duke were to return from the fleet that was ready to set sail with the first fair wind[i], and not till then, the king told prince Rupert, without enlarging upon the reasons, "that he would have "him to return with him to London, and accompany "him this summer, and that the earl of Sandwich "should have the sole command of the fleet;" with which the prince was wonderfully surprised and perplexed, and even heart-broken; but there was no contending. He stayed behind the king only till he could get his goods and family disembarked, and then returned with very much trouble to the court: and the earl of Sandwich set sail with the fleet, with direction first to visit the coast of Holland, and if he found that the Dutch fleet was not ready to come out, that he should go to the northward to watch the East India fleet, which had orders from their superiors to come by the north, that they might avoid the English fleet, that was master of the sea.

The fleet puts out to sea under the earl of Sandwich.

It was in the end of June or beginning of July that the king and duke returned from the fleet; and within few days after, it set sail: when the plague increased so fast, that there died about two thousand in a week; so that all men cried out against the king's staying so long at Whitehall, the sickness being already in Westminster. Where-

[i] first fair wind] first wind

1665. upon the king, after he had taken the best care he could with the lord mayor for the good ordering the city, and published such orders as were thought necessary for the relief and regulation of infected persons, and prevailed with some justices of the peace in the Strand and in Westminster to promise to reside there, (which they were the more easily persuaded to do by the general's declaring that he would stay in his lodgings at Whitehall, which he did during the whole time of the pestilence; and the lord Craven, out of friendship to him, stayed likewise in his house in Drury-lane: and it cannot be denied that the presence of those two great persons prevented many mischiefs which would have fallen out by the disorder of the people, and was of great convenience and benefit to that end of the town:) I say, when the king had settled all this, he removed to Hampton, resolving there to consider how to dispose of himself for the remainder of the summer. And because there were many particulars still unresolved concerning the business of Ireland, his majesty for some days appointed that numerous people, that they might have no pretence to come to Hampton-Court, to attend at Sion; where for many days together his majesty spent many hours, till he had composed that affair as well as it was for the present capable of.

The king removes to Hampton-Court on account of the plague.

The plague still increased at London, and spread about the country; so that it was not thought safe for the court to remain longer where it then was, the sickness being already in some of the adjacent villages. Whereupon the king resolved that his own family and his brother's should remove to Salisbury, and spend the summer there. And because

it was already in view, that it would not be fit for the parliament to assemble again at Westminster in September, to which time it was prorogued, nor could it be computed at what time it could be safe to meet in that place; and it was as notorious that if the parliament met not somewhere, whereby the king might have another supply before the winter, there would be very great confusion for want of money: he caused therefore a proclamation to issue out, "that he intended to adjourn the parliament to "meet at Oxford upon the tenth of October next, "and that the members need not to attend at "Westminster in September." And then he directed the speaker of the house of commons, who lived within half a day of London, and the general and the lord Craven, to give notice to the members of both houses, who lived within that distance, to be present in both houses at the day to which they were prorogued, and then to adjourn to Oxford according to the proclamation. And this being settled, his majesty appointed a day for beginning his progress from Hampton-Court to Salisbury; against which time all carriages and whatsoever was necessary for the journey were prepared[k]. 1665. The parliament adjourned to Oxford.

In the morning, when every body believed that the king and queen and duke and duchess, with both their families, were to go together one way, Mr. Coventry found a way to break that resolution, having no mind to be in so great a court that his greatness would not appear. He told the duke "that there were general discontents throughout "the kingdom," which was true, "and a probability "of insurrections," which were much spoken of and Mr. W. Coventry persuades the duke to spend the summer at York.

[k] were prepared] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. apprehended; "and therefore it might be better "that the king and the duke might not be together, "but in several places, that they might draw what "forces were necessary to them, which the presence "of their own persons would easily do: that the "fleet would probably be all the summer upon the "northern coast in expectation of the Dutch East "India fleet;" for it was not then thought that the Hollanders would have been able to have set out another fleet able to have encountered ours. Upon the whole matter he proposed to him, "that since "the king meant to spend the summer in the west, "with which there could very hardly be any cor-"respondence from the fleet, his highness should go "into the north, and reside at York; by which he "would have an influence upon all those parts "where the most disaffected persons were[l] most in-"habitant, and from Hull and those maritime parts "he could not be long without receiving some[m] in-"telligence from the fleet."

The truth is; the constitution of the court at this time was such, the prevalence of the lady so great, and the queen's humour thereupon so inconstant, and all together so discomposed the king, that there was no pleasure in being a part of it: and therefore the advice was as soon embraced as given, by the duke and his wife, who were well content to enjoy themselves in their own family apart. And the duke presently proposed it to the king, and Mr. Coventry discoursed all the motives to him so fully, that his majesty approved it. And then, if it were to be done at all, the first attending the king to Salis-

[l] were] *Omitted in MS.* [m] some] *Not in MS.*

bury, which was so much out of the way, would be to no purpose: and therefore it was resolved (all the coaches and carriages being then at the doors to go to Farnham, which was the first day's journey towards Salisbury) that the king and his brother would part upon the place, and that the king and queen should continue their purpose for Farnham; and the duke and his wife should go that night to St. Alban's, and so prosecute his journey for York; and all orders were in the instant given out to this purpose. 1665. The king removes to Salisbury.

Whether the reasons of this counsel were of importance or not, the alteration on such a sudden from what had been before determined was thought very strange, and wondered at, and made many believe that some accident was fallen out that must not be discovered: for on the sudden it was, there having been no such thought overnight, when the chancellor left the court to go to his own house at Twickenham. And when he returned the next morning, the resolution was taken, and every body well pleased with the change, and both the king and the duke told him with satisfaction of it; nor did he understand it enough to make objections against it, which would have been ingrateful; nor was it convenient to spend longer time in deliberation at that place, where some of the inferior servants had died the night before of the plague: and so they all entered upon their journey by nine of the clock the same morning.

It is necessary in this place to remember, that the express, that had been sent by the bishop of Munster's agent with the conditions which were offered by the king, returned with great expedition, and brought the bishop's acceptation and engagement, The bishop of Munster engages to invade the United Provinces.

1665. " that, upon the payment of the first sum that was " agreed upon, he would draw his army together, " and march with an army of twenty thousand horse " and foot into the States' dominions." And the king before he left London had signed the treaty, and made the first payment, and provided for the second: so that he now expected that the bishop should be shortly upon his march, and fix his winter-quarters in those provinces; which he did resolve and intend with courage and sincerity, and which in that conjuncture must have put the counsels of Holland into great confusion, when they began to be again reduced into some order.

De Wit persuades the Dutch to prepare another fleet.

The indefatigable industry and dexterity of the pensionary De Wit prevailed with the States to believe, " that he thought a peace to be necessary for " their affairs, and desired nothing but that it might " be upon honourable and safe conditions, and that " France was very real in the endeavouring it: but " that the enemy was so insolent upon their late " success, that they neglected all overtures, and be- " lieved that the factions and divisions amongst " themselves would hinder them from being able to " set out another fleet; and therefore that ought to " be the first design. And if their fleet were ready " to go out, he doubted not but a peace would quickly " follow: for that France was engaged, if the king " should not consent to what is just and reasonable, " to declare a war against England, and to assist " them with men and money, and all his own naval " power, which the duke of Beaufort was then pre- " paring and making ready in all the ports of France. " But that it was not to be expected that they would " send out their fleet, which was much inferior to

" the English, except they first saw a Dutch fleet at 1665.
" sea ready to join with them." He wished them to consider " how much they were all concerned in their " India ships, which were in their voyage, and could " not be far from their coasts in a short time; all " which would inevitably fall into the hands of the " English, if they had no fleet at sea to relieve " them."

These reasons, of weight in themselves, and the concernment of most of them in the preservation of the Indian ships, prevailed with them to do all that could be done to set out a new fleet; and to that purpose they sent very strict and severe orders to their several admiralties, for the proceeding against all, without distinction of persons, who had misbehaved themselves in the late battle, and to provide new ships and all necessary provisions, to the end that their fleet might be at sea by a time. And this grew the more easy to them, by the seasonable return of De Ruyter with his fleet from Guinea, which brought a present addition of good strength; and he had began the war upon the English, and was the best sea-officer they had, and had exercised those commands that no other officer could refuse to obey him.

The Dutch make a reformation in their navy.

For the speedy carrying on these present preparations, they made, according to their usual custom in extraordinary occurrences, committees of the States to assist in the admiralties of Zealand, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam; and to that purpose De Wit, and such other as he thought fittest at this time to join with him, were appointed. They went first to the fleet to reform the disorders there: and though they durst not proceed with that severity as

1665. had been fit, yet they cashiered many captains and other officers, and put some other marks of disgrace upon others, and caused one or two to die.

De Wit's malice against Van Trump.

But that which De Wit's heart was most set upon was to take revenge upon Van Trump, and to remove him from ever having any command at sea: for though he was an excellent officer, and upon the stock of his father's credit of great estimation with the seamen, and inferior to no man but De Ruyter, and had behaved himself in the battle with signal courage; yet his dispute with Evertson upon command had brought much prejudice to them. But that which was worst of all and incensed De Wit implacably was, that he was of entire devotion to the prince of Orange, as his father had always been, and all his children continued to be, and he knew well had an especial part, how covertly soever, in fomenting the murmurs of the people against [n] him and the war: and he resolved to take this opportunity of the good temper the States were in in their concurrence for the setting out the fleet, not only to provide for the better government of their ships and marine conduct, but to punish and prevent the murmurs at land, by removing all those out of any power whom he suspected to have secretly contributed to them. He did all he could to make Van Trump's offence capital, as if the right of command had been so clear in Evertson that the other could not dispute it: but Van Trump defended himself so well [o], and had so many friends, that he was absolved from that guilt. Yet for some passionate and indiscreet words, in which he did naturally abound, he was

[n] against] *Omitted in MS.* [o] so well] *Not in MS.*

deprived of his command, with a declaration, "that "he should no more be employed in the service of "the States;" which whilst the government was in those hands he cared not for, and had a good estate to subsist without it. And so for the present all differences were composed so far, as to have a general concurrence in whatsoever was necessary, and in order to the making ready and setting out their fleet to sea. 1665.

The French ambassadors seem desirous of mediating a peace.

The king had been few days at Salisbury before the French and Spanish ambassadors arrived there, and then they made some instance with the king, that there might be a treaty for peace; and the French ambassadors [p] declared, "that the king their "master was so far engaged by treaty with the "Dutch, that if the king would not accept of a just "and an honourable peace, his majesty must declare "himself on their behalf, which he was unwilling to "do." The king answered, "that if there were any "such engagement he had not been well dealt with; "for that the French king had given his word to "him, that he would not enter into any treaty with "the Dutch but 'pari passu' with his majesty," (and when his majesty had been informed that there was some treaty concluded with them, he was assured from France "that it was only a treaty of "commerce, which he had been obliged to enter "into to prevent an edict in Holland, by which "strong waters and other French commodities would "have been inhibited to be brought into those pro-"vinces, but that there was nothing in that treaty "that could be to his majesty's prejudice:") "that

[p] the French ambassadors] *Not in MS.*

1665. "his majesty had been always ready to embrace "peace, which had been never yet offered by the "Dutch, nor did he know what conditions they ex- "pected."

The ambassadors seemed to be much offended with the insolent behaviour of the Dutch; and confessed "that they were not solicitous for peace, but "only desired to engage the king their master in "the war: but that if his majesty would make his "demands, which they presumed would be reason- "able, the other should be brought to consent to "them." To which the king replied, "that they had "begun the war upon him, and not he upon them; "and that God had hitherto given him the advan- "tage, which he hoped he should improve; and till "they were as desirous of a peace as he, it would not "become him to make any propositions." And in this manner that affair stood whilst the court remained at Salisbury.

And there now fell out an unexpected accident, which looked as if Providence had been inclined to repair the mischief and the damage that the plague had produced to the affairs of the king. It hath been mentioned before, that upon the first thoughts of a war with the Dutch, the king had sent Mr. Henry Coventry to Sweden, and sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to engage those crowns as far as might be on his majesty's behalf, both of them being enough disobliged and provoked by the Dutch.

Success of Mr. Henry Coventry's embassy to Sweden;

Mr. Coventry in Sweden found a frank and open reception, avowing a hearty affection to the king, and an inclination to join in any thing that might not be destructive to their own affairs: nor did they dissemble the injuries they had received from the

Hollander even to the Dutch ambassador himself, 1665.
who was at the same time sent thither to unite that crown to their interest, to which purpose he had made several specious overtures. Nor did they conceal the jealousy they had of the French, who had not complied with the payment of the yearly sum of money which they were obliged to make to them for the support of their army, of which they were in a great arrear, that discomposed their affairs very much. And though M. Pompone, who had been long resident in that court as an envoy, was now come thither as ambassador from France, and brought with him a good sum of money to retain them fast to their dependance upon them; yet the money was not half that was due to them, and they well knew what dark ends it was for: and they did exceedingly fear the omnipotence of France.

There were two things which kept them from a full declaration on the king's behalf, and engaging presently in his interest. The first was the apprehension that they had of Denmark, that it would take this opportunity to unite themselves more firmly to the Hollander, and so attempt to deprive Sweden of all their late conquest, which was confirmed to them by their own treaty of Copenhagen, which they were resolved never to part from: and in this particular they were to expect some satisfaction and security from the negociation of sir Gilbert Talbot. The other was, that they might see the bishop of Munster fully engaged, upon whose expedition they had much expectation. And Mr. Coventry had informed them of that whole agreement, which would have given them opportunity to have

1665. prosecuted their own design upon Bremen, to which their hearts were most devoted.

And of sir Gilbert Talbot's to Denmark.

Sir Gilbert Talbot had been as well received in Denmark, with all the professions imaginable of affection to the king, and of their detestation of the Dutch, who in truth had exercised a strange tyranny over them by the advantage of their necessities; nor is the injustice, oppression, and indignities which they had sustained from them to be expressed and described, without entering into a large discourse of particulars which are foreign to this relation: let it suffice, that there needed few arguments to persuade that king to any thing that was within his power, and which would have done signal mischief to the Dutch. But the truth is, the kingdom was very poor, the people unwarlike, the king himself very good and very weak, jealous of all the great men, and not yet recovered of the fright that Wolfelt had put him into. His chief minister, one Gabell, had gotten his credit by having been his barber, an illiterate and unbred man, yet his sole confident in his business of greatest trust; which made all the persons of quality in the kingdom, who are as proud of their nobility as any nation, full of indignation. And they were able to cross many resolutions after they were taken, though they could not establish others in the place; which made the king very irresolute and unfixed: so that what was concluded to-day was reversed or not pursued tomorrow. They professed a great jealousy of the Swede, as the greatest argument, but their weakness, against a war with [q] the Dutch; yet were not

[q] war with] *Not in MS.*

willing to propose any expedients which might se- 1665.
cure them against those jealousies. And the king absolutely denied that he had ever given Hannibal Zested authority to declare, "that he would again "confirm the treaty he had made;" and seemed to take it unkindly that his majesty should think it reasonable, who therefore thought it so, because it was proposed by himself, and because he still confessed, "that he could make no attempt to recover "what he had parted with." That which he did unreasonably design, in all the disguises which were put on, was to engage the king to endeavour to persuade the Swede to give up and restore Elsineur and the other places to Denmark, or to assist him with force for the recovery of them when there should be a peace concluded with Holland: so that the king despaired of any good from that negociation, and resolved shortly to recall his minister from thence.

A particular account of the attempt upon the Dutch at Bergen.

But there was on a sudden a change to wonder. Gabell came early in a morning to sir Gilbert Talbot, and told him, "his master was now resolved to unite "his interest entirely to that of the king of Eng- "land, having now an opportunity to do it securely "to both their benefits." He told him, "that there "were letters arrived that night from Bergen, with "news that the Dutch East India ships were all "arrived in that port with orders to remain there "till they received new orders from Holland, which "they should have as soon as their fleet should be "ready to join with them. This had disposed the "king to resolve to give the king of England op- "portunity to possess himself of all that treasure, "out of which he presumed he would allow him

1665. "such a share, as might enable him to declare, and "assist his majesty vigorously in his war, against "the Dutch. That if he gave speedy notice to the "king's fleet, which every body knew was then at "sea, it might easily go to Bergen, where they might "as easily surprise all those ships in the port, since "they should receive no opposition from the castles "under whose protection they lay."

And when he had done his relation, he offered him to go with him to the king, that he might receive the obligation from himself; which sir Gilbert Talbot presently did, and found his majesty as cheerful in the resolution as Gabell had been. He repeated all that the other had said, and more particularly "that he thought it reasonable that he might "expect half of the value that the whole would "amount to; which he would rely upon the king's "honour and justice for, after the ships should be "in England, that[r] he might not be suspected by "the Hollander, for he would protest against[s] the "act as a violence that he could not resist: and "that[t] he would expect so many of his majesty's "ships[u] to arrive in Denmark, and to assist him, "before he positively declared against the Dutch." He wished sir Gilbert Talbot "to send an express "forthwith to the king with all these particulars;" which he did the next day.

This express arrived within few days after the king came to Salisbury, and was despatched presently back again with letters to the king of Denmark of his majesty's consent and ratification of all that he had proposed, and with letters likewise to

[r] that] and that
[s] against] *Omitted in MS.*
[t] that] so
[u] ships] *Omitted in MS.*

the earl of Sandwich, who according to his former orders had sailed northward in hope to meet with that fleet, which was before got into Norway. The king's letters to him came in a very good season, and he immediately continued his course for Norway: and when he came to that length, and near enough to that land of rocks which are terrible to all seamen, he thought it best to remain at sea with his fleet, lest De Ruyter might by this time be come out with his fleet, (since his being come northward could not be concealed, nor the arrival of the East India fleet at Bergen; which would hasten the other,) and sent in a squadron of fifteen or sixteen good ships (of strength sufficient for the business) into the harbour of Bergen with a letter to the governor. And with it he sent in [x] a gentleman that was a volunteer on board him, who hath been often mentioned before, Mr. Clifford, the confident of the lord Arlington, who was well instructed in all the transactions which had been at Copenhagen. Before they went into the harbour, Mr. Clifford and another gentleman or two went by boat to the town, where he found all the Dutch ships (about a dozen in number) riding very near the shore, and all under the protection of the castle, into which they had put much of their richest lading from the time of their first coming thither, as to a place of unquestionable security. 1665.

The governor was not surprised with the messengers or the letter, as appeared by the reception of both, but seemed troubled that they were come so soon, before the manner of performing the action

[x] in] *Not in MS.*

1665. was enough adjusted: he could not deny but "that "he had received orders from Copenhagen; but that "he expected more perfect directions within four "and twenty hours, and expected likewise the pre- "sence of the vice-king of Norway, who was his "superior officer, and would infallibly be there the "next day." The behaviour of the man was such as made them believe it sincere, as in truth it was, for he meant well, and was content that the ships, which though they were not come into the port did not ride safe amongst the rocks, should come into the port, upon assurance that they would not attempt any hostile act without his consent, which was till all things should be agreed between them: and so the fleet entered; which the Dutch perceived with great consternation, yet changed the posture of some of their ships, and new-moored the rest, and put themselves upon their defence.

It is a port like no other that the world knows, a very great number of formidable rocks, between each of which the sea runs deep enough for the greatest ships to ride securely; so that the ships were as in so many chambers apart between the rocks: and the Dutch, which came thither first, had possessed themselves of that line of the sea that lay next to the shore, to which they lay so near that they could descend from their vessels on land; which had been much the better for the enterprise, if the Dane had concurred in it.

It was so late before the English ships had taken their places, which was as near the Dutch as the rocks would permit, that they remained quiet all night, which was spent in consultation between the commander in chief of the English ships (who was

a stout and a good officer, but a rough man, who knew better how to follow his instructions than to debate the ground of them; but he was advised by Mr. Clifford, and conformed to his judgment) and the governor of the town and castle, who seemed still inclined not only to suffer the English to do what they would, but to be willing to act a part in it himself from the shore, and to expect hourly orders to that purpose, as likewise the arrival of the vice-king, whose authority was more equal to that attempt, and who was a man well known to have a particular reverence for the king, and as particular a prejudice and animosity against the Dutch. The night being over, the governor continued all the next day as desirous and importunate that the enterprise might be longer deferred; upon which there were some choleric words between the governor and a gentleman of quality who was a volunteer on board the ships, which many thought in some degree irreconciled the governor to the affair. 1665.

In conclusion, the commander of the squadron was willing to think that the governor had rather it should be done without his declared consent than by it, and so told him, "that the next morning he was "resolved to weigh his anchors and to fall upon the "Dutch;" to which the other made such a reply as confirmed him in his former imagination. And in the morning the ships were brought out of their several channels, and placed as near the sides of the Dutch as they could be, from whence they resolved to board them as soon as they had sent their broadsides upon them. But they found that the Dutch had spent their time well; for in the two days and two nights that the English had been in the harbour,

1665. besides the unlading the richest of their commodities that were left into the castle, they had drawn all their ordnance, which lay on that side of the ships which was to the shore, on land, and planted them upon a rising ground, that they could shoot over their own ships upon the English: and a breastwork was cast up, behind which all the inhabitants of the town were in arms.

The ill success of it. It was a fair warning, and might very well have persuaded our men to be glad to retire out of the harbour, which yet they might have done: but their courage or their anger disposed them to make further trial of the governor, for they feared not the ordnance from the land which the Dutch had planted, nor the muskets from the breastworks, if the castle did them no harm, under the power of which they all were. And so they fell upon their work: and in some time, and with [y] the loss of many men from the ships and from the land, they had dismounted many of the ordnance upon the shore, and were even ready to board the ships; when out of absurd rage or accident a ship or two of the English discharged some guns both upon the breastworks, from whence they had received no prejudice, and upon the town, which beat down some houses. But then all the muskets from the breastworks were poured out, and guns from the castle, which killed very many common men, and five or six officers of very good account, and some gentlemen volunteers, amongst which was Edward Mountague, eldest son to the lord Mountague of Boughton, and cousin german to the earl of Sandwich, a proper man and

[y] y with] *Not in MS.*

well-bred, but not easy to be pleased, and who was 1665.
then withdrawn from the court, where he was master of the horse to the queen, and in some discontent had put himself on board the fleet with a captain, without the privity of the earl of Sandwich, and was now slain. There was now no further experiment to be made, but how they could get to sea, which might easily have been prevented from the shore and from the rocks: but from the minute that they prepared to be gone and gave over shooting, there was no more done against them, and they had pilots from the country that carried them safe out.

The noise of the guns had called the earl of Sandwich as near the mouth of the harbour as could safely be, to discover what became of his squadron; so that they came shortly to him with the whole account of their ill success, and within a short time after a shallop from the governor[z], with a letter to the officer who had commanded the squadron, complaining as much as he could do of the misbehaviour of the English in shooting upon the town, and desiring "that Mr. Clifford would give him a "meeting at a place he appointed, to which the "shallop should convey him." Mr. Clifford was more willing to go than the earl was to permit him; yet at last upon his earnest desire he consented, and he put himself into the shallop. It happened that when the action was over and the English under sail, the vice-king arrived at Bergen, with two or three regiments of the country; and the orders were likewise come from Copenhagen, whereby, at least as they

[z] from the governor] *Not in MS.*

1665. pretended, they were required to permit all that the English desired: and the vice-king had caused the shallop to be sent, and was himself with the governor at the place whither Mr. Clifford was to come, and there he spake with them together.

The governor with many protestations excused himself for shooting from the castle, after the town was assaulted, and many of the burghers killed, who had stood in arms only to defend the town, without being concerned for the Dutch or their ships; and made it an argument of his integrity and respect, "that he had permitted them to depart when it "was in his power to have sunk them." He complained, "that the commander would not have the "patience to defer the assault one day longer, "which if he had done, the orders from Copenhagen "had been come, and the vice-king had been pre-"sent with his forces, which would have secured "the enterprise." The vice-king seemed very much troubled for what had been done, and earnestly desired "that the same or another squadron might be "again sent in, when they should be at liberty to do "what they would upon the Dutch; and if they "stood in need of assistance, they should have as "much as was necessary."

Mr. Clifford replied to many of the excuses which were made, and urged "the suffering the Dutch to "bring their ordnance on shore, and the townsmen "being in arms to assist them;" and proposed, "that they would first begin by seizing upon some "of their ships, and then that their fleet should an-"swer:" but this the vice-king did absolutely refuse, and made another proposition, that startled more, and was directly new, "that when the English had

"seized upon all the Dutch ships, they should not 1665.
"have carried any of them away till a perfect divi-
"sion of the goods was made, that the king of
"Denmark might have his just proportion." Mr. Clifford made no answer but "that he would pre-
"sent all that they proposed to the earl of Sand-
"wich, in whom the power of concluding and ex-
"ecuting remained solely:" and so he returned to the fleet, and they to the town, and expected an answer.

The earl of Sandwich declines making another attempt.

The earl of Sandwich thought not fit to run any more hazards, and was not satisfied that they had proceeded sincerely. But that which most prevailed with him was, that he had received intelligence "that De Ruyter was come out with the "fleet," and he would not he should find him entangled in those rocks, or obliged to fight with him upon that coast; and the season of the year now made that station very unsecure, for it was already the beginning of October, when those seas run very high and boisterous: and therefore he resolved to be master of more sea-room, that he might fight De Ruyter, if he came; and if he did not, he might then meet those East India ships more securely in their way to Holland, than by making another attempt in the harbour. And so, after some letters had passed and repassed between the vice-king and him, and both the vice-king and governor had undertaken to keep the Dutch ships there for the space of six weeks, for they desired to see the success of another engagement between the two fleets; the earl steered that way with his fleet that most probably might bring him and De Ruyter together, which above all things he desired.

1665. This whole affair of Bergen and the managery thereof was so perplexed and intricate, that it was never clearly understood. That which seemed to have most probability was, that as soon as the Dutch fleet came to Bergen, they had unladen many of their richest commodities and put them into the castle, before the governor had received his orders from Copenhagen: and so both his own and his master's faith and honour were engaged to discharge the trust, of which he made haste to send an account to the king, and thereupon expected new directions, which were not arrived when the English fleet came thither. And when they did come, whether that court, according to its custom, did change its mind, and believe they should make a better bargain by keeping what was already deposited in their hands in the castle, than by making an uncertain division with the king; or whether they did in truth continue firm to the first agreement, and that the messenger was stopped by extraordinary accidents in his journey, (which was positively alleged,) so that he did not arrive in time; or whether the governor was not able to master the town that was much inclined to the Hollanders, before the vice-king came with his troops, who did make all possible haste as soon as he heard that the English were arrived; or whether the English did proceed more unadvisedly and rashly than they ought to have done; remains still in the dark: and both parties reproached each other afterwards, as they found most necessary for their several defences and pretences; of which more hereafter.

The author's reflections upon this affair.

The king and the court re-

The king stayed not altogether so long at Salisbury as he had intended to have done: for besides

a little accidental indisposition which made him dislike the air, some inferior servants and their wives came from London or the villages adjacent, and brought the plague with them; so that the court removed to Oxford before the end of September, the parliament being to assemble there on the tenth of the next month. And before he left Salisbury, his majesty sent an express to York to his brother, "that he would meet him as soon as he could." The duke had lived in great lustre in York all that summer, with the very great respect and continual attendance of all the persons of quality of that large county: and the duke no sooner received his majesty's summons than he took post, and left his wife and family to follow by ordinary journeys, and himself came to Oxford the next day after the king, where there were indeed matters of the highest importance to be consulted and resolved. 1665. move to Oxford.

The king had sent Mr. Clifford to Denmark to be satisfied, upon conference with sir Gilbert Talbot, concerning the miscarriage at Bergen, and if the ships remained still there according to the promise the vice-king had made, and if that king were ready to perform what he had undertaken, that all particulars might be so adjusted that there might be no further mistake; and if he found that the jealousy of Sweden was a real obstruction to that alliance, that he should make a journey to Sweden, and upon conference with Mr. Coventry, who by his dexterity and very good parts had reconciled the affections of that court to a very great esteem of him, endeavour[a] to remove all those obstructions: and as soon as his majesty should receive full infor-

[a] endeavour] to endeavour

1665. mation of that whole affair, he must consider what he was to do to vindicate himself in that business of Bergen; for he knew well that he must suffer with all the world, for violating the peace of a port that was under the government of a neighbour prince with whom he was allied, if he did not make it appear that he had the consent of that prince, which he was not willing to do till he first knew what that king would do.

A further negociation with the French ambassadors.

In the next place his majesty was to resolve what answer to make to the French ambassadors, who now desired frequent audiences, and positively declared, "that their master was engaged by his "treaty with the Dutch, that in case they were in- "vaded or assaulted by any prince, he would assist "them with men, money, and ships, which he had "hitherto deferred to do out of respect to the king, "and in hope that he would accept his mediation, "and make such propositions towards peace as he "might press the others to consent to." The Dutch ambassador was likewise come to town, rather to treat concerning the prisoners and to observe what the French ambassadors did, than that he had any thing to propose in order to peace, there appearing now since their fleet was at sea more insolence in the Dutch, and a greater aversion from the peace, than had been formerly.

The king complained to the ambassadors of the French king's proceedings, "that the entering into "that treaty was expressly against his word given to "the king: that the Dutch had first began the war, "and ought to make the first approach towards "peace, but that their [b] ambassador had no instruc-

[b] their] *Not in MS.*

" tion to make any such instance; and therefore it 1665.
" seemed very strange to his majesty, that the
" French king should press for that which they had
" no desire to have."

The ambassadors confessed " that the Dutch did
" not desire a peace; that they thought they were
" too much behindhand, and that they had at pre-
" sent great advantages; that they looked upon the
" great plague in London" (which continued in its full rage and vigour, insomuch as at that time in the end of September there died not so few as six thousand in the week, amongst which some were of the best quality in the city) " as of such insupportable
" damage to the king, that he would not be able to
" set out another fleet the year following: and
" therefore that, when they had been pressed by the
" French king to make some propositions towards
" peace, he could get no other answer from them,
" than that they expected that the island of Pole-
" roone should be released to them, and that the
" fort at Cabo Corso in Guinea should be thrown
" down and slighted; which they confessed was an
" insolent proposition. That they complained that
" the king their master, instead of giving them the
" assistance he was obliged to do, spent the time in
" procuring a peace, which they cared not for: so
" that," they said, " their master continued the same
" Christian office principally to do his majesty of
" Great Britain a service, who he in truth believed
" would be reduced to great straits by the terrible
" effect of the plague; and in the next place to de-
" fend himself from entering into the war, which he
" could no longer defer to do, if his majesty did not,
" by consenting to some reasonable overture, give

1665. "him a just occasion to press them to yield to it; "and in that case he would behave himself in that "manner that the king should have no cause to "complain of his partiality." The king's indignation was so provoked by the pride and impudence of the Dutch demands, that he gave the ambassadors no other answer, than "that he hoped God Al- "mighty had not sent that heavy judgment of the "plague upon him and his people on the behalf of "the Hollanders, and to expose him to their inso- "lence."

The parliament meets at Oxford.

The parliament convened at Oxford in greater numbers than could reasonably have been expected, the sickness still continuing to rage and spread itself in several counties; so that between the danger that was in the towns infected, and the necessary severity in other towns to keep themselves from being infected, it was a very inconvenient season for all persons of quality to travel from their own habitations. Upon the tenth of October the king commanded both houses to attend him in Christ Church hall,

The king's speech to both houses.

and told them, "that he was confident they did all "believe, that if it had not been absolutely neces- "sary to consult with them, he would not have "called them together at that time, when the con- "tagion had spread itself over so many parts of the "kingdom: and he thanked them for their compli- "ance so far with his desires."

His majesty said, "the truth was; as he had en- "tered upon the war by their advice and encou- "ragement, so he desired that they might as fre- "quently as was possible receive information of the "effects and conduct of it, and that he might have "the continuance of their cheerful supply for the

" carrying it on. He would not deny to them, that 1665.
" it had proved more chargeable than he could ima-
" gine it would have been: the addition the enemy
" had still made to their fleets, beyond their first
" purpose, made it unavoidably necessary for him to
" make proportionable preparations, which God had
" hitherto blessed with success in all encounters.
" And as they had used their utmost endeavours by
" calumnies and false suggestions to gain friends to
" themselves, and to persuade them to assist them
" against him, so he had not been wanting to en-
" courage those princes who had been wronged by
" the Dutch, to recover their own by force; and in
" order thereunto, he had assisted the bishop of
" Munster with a great sum of ready money, and
" was to continue a supply to him, who he believed
" was at that time in the bowels of their country
" with a powerful army.

" Those issues, which he might tell them had
" been made with very much conduct and hus-
" bandry, (nor indeed did he know that any thing
" had been spent that could have been well and
" safely saved;)" he said, " those expenses would
" not suffer them to wonder, that the great supply
" which they gave him for this war in so bountiful a
" proportion was upon the matter already spent: so
" that he must not only expect an assistance from
" them to carry on that war, but such an assistance
" as might enable him to defend himself and them
" against a more powerful neighbour, if he should
" prefer the friendship of the Dutch before his."

He put them in mind, " that when he entered
" upon this war, he had told them, that he had not
" such a brutal appetite as to make war for war's

1665. " sake; he was still of the same mind: he had been " ready to receive any propositions that France had " thought fit to offer to that end, but hitherto no- " thing had been offered worthy his acceptance; " nor was the Dutch less insolent, though he knew " no advantage they had got but the continuance of " the contagion, and he hoped that God Almighty " would shortly deprive them of that encourage- " ment."

Substance of the chancellor's speech.

The chancellor at the same time, by the king's command, made a short narrative of the history of the war, the circumstances with which it was begun, and the progress it had since made, and the victory that the duke had attained; of the vast number of the prisoners and sick and wounded men, a charge that had never been computed.

He told them, " the French king had indeed of- " fered his mediation, and that if he intended no more " than a mediation, it was an office very worthy the " most Christian king: he wished, that as a mediator " he would make equal propositions, or that he " would not so importunately press his majesty to " consent to those he makes, upon an instance and " argument, that he holds himself engaged by a for- " mer treaty (of which his majesty had never heard " till since the beginning of the war, and had some " reason to have presumed the contrary) to assist " the Dutch with men and money, if his majesty " would not consent."

He said, " his majesty had told them, that he had " no appetite to make war for war's sake; but he " would be always ready to make such a peace as " might be for his honour and the interest of his " subjects. And no doubt it would be a great trouble

" and grief to his majesty to find so great a prince, 1665.
" towards whom he had manifested so great an af-
" fection, in conjunction with his enemies: yet even
" the apprehension of such a war would not terrify
" him to purchase a peace by such concessions as he
" should be ashamed to make them acquainted with;
" of which nature they would easily believe the pro-
" positions hitherto made to be, when they knew
" the release of Poleroone in the East Indies, and
" the demolishing the fort of Cabo Corso upon the
" coast of Guinea, were two; which would be upon
" the matter to be contented with a very vile trade
" in the East Indies under their control, and with
" none in Guinea. And yet those are not propo-
" sitions unreasonable enough to please the Dutch,
" who reproached France for interposing for peace,
" instead of assisting them in the war, boldly in-
" sisting upon the advantage the contagion in Lon-
" don and some other parts of the kingdom gives
" them; by which, they confidently say, the king
" will be no longer able to maintain a fleet against
" them at sea."

He told them, " that he had fully obeyed the
" command that had been laid upon him, in making
" that plain, clear, true narrative of what had pass-
" ed; he had no order to make reflection upon it, nor
" any deduction from it: the king himself had told
" them, that the noble, unparalleled supply they had
" already given him is upon the matter spent, spent
" with all the animadversions of good husbandry
" that the nature of the affair would bear. What
" was more to be done he left to their own generous
" understandings; being not more assured of any
" thing that was to come in this world, than that the

1665. " same noble indignation for the honour of the king " and the nation, that first provoked them to inflame " the king himself, would continue the same passion " still boiling in their loyal breasts; that all the " world may see, which they never hoped to have " seen, that never prince and people were so entirely " united in their affections, for their true, joint, in- " separable honour, as their only sure infallible expe- " dient to preserve their distinct several interests."

A further supply granted.

The king could not expect or wish a fuller concurrence from a parliament than he now found. With very little hesitation they declared, " that they " would supply his majesty with another million, " (ten hundred thousand pounds:)" and because they desired to be dismissed as soon as might be to their several habitations, not without apprehension that so great a concourse of persons from all places, even from London itself, (for the term was likewise adjourned to Oxford,) might bring the contagion thither likewise; they rejected all other businesses but what immediately related to the public. To the supply they designed to the king they added the sum of above forty thousand pounds, which they desired his majesty to confer upon the duke, having received some insinuation, " that it would not be " ingrateful to the king that such a present should " be made to his brother." Then they passed two or three acts of parliament very much for the king's honour and security, amongst which one was, " for " the attainting all those his subjects who either re- " sided in Holland" (as some of the English officers who had long served in that country presumed still to do) " and continued in their service, or in any " other parts beyond the seas, if they did not ap-

An act for attainting the English in the Dutch service.

"pear at a day prefixed, after notice by the king's "proclamation:" and the nomination of the persons was entirely left to his majesty. 1665.

His majesty did hope, that this very good carriage in the parliament would have made some impression upon France, either to have given[c] over their mediation, or to have drawn reasonable and just concessions from the States: but it did produce the contrary. The Hollander had received a new damage which inflamed them exceedingly, which shall be particularly mentioned in the next place, whereupon they made grievous complaints to France of its breach of faith upon the promises that had been made to them. That[d] king upon this required his ambassadors once more to make a lively instance to his majesty, "that he would declare "what he meant to insist upon in order to a peace, "which if he should refuse to do, they should take "their leaves and return into France with all pos-"sible expedition." In this audience they spake in a higher style than they had formerly used. They complained "of the intolerable damage the subjects "of France had sustained in their goods and estates "by the king's ships, and those who were licensed "by his authority, which without any distinction "seized upon all that came in their way as if they "were Dutch: and when they complained to the "admiralty or to the lords commissioners, they could "procure no justice, and were obliged to such[e] an "attendance and expense, that what they sued for "did not prove of value to satisfy the charge of the "prosecution; and if after a long and a tedious so-

The French ambassadors remonstrate warmly against the English.

[c] have given] give [d] That] The [e] such] *Not in MS.*

1665. "licitation they did at last procure a sentence for the "redelivery of what had been taken from them, "when they hoped to enjoy the benefit of this just "sentence by the execution, they found the goods "embezzled in the port or plundered by the seamen, "that the owners had rarely a third part of their "goods ever restored to them. And that by this "violence and unjust proceeding, of which they had "often made complaint, the French merchants had "lost near five hundred thousand pistoles; which "their master resented and looked upon as a great "indignity to himself, which he had hitherto borne, "in hope that the license would have been restrained "by the end of the war."

They urged it as an argument of their master's friendship to the king, "that after an offensive treaty "had been so long since entered into by him, by "which he was obliged to assist the Dutch with "men, money, and ships, he had notwithstanding "hitherto forborne it, and looked on whilst they "were soundly beaten, and had lately sustained "another blow; and that it was not possible for "him to defer it longer:" and so concluded with very earnest persuasions, "that his majesty would "consent to such a peace as their master should "judge to be reasonable, who could not but be very "just to his majesty;" and wished, "that it might "be considered, besides the damage by the plague, "which nobody knew how long it might continue, "how impossible it was for the king to sustain the "arms of France in conjunction with those of "Holland, when possibly some other prince might "join likewise with them."

They who were appointed by the king to confer

with the ambassadors were most perplexed to justify their first charge, "of the depredation that had "been made upon the French merchants," which had in truth been very great, though not amounting to the sum they mentioned. Yet to that they answered, "that the damage and loss which the sub- "jects of France had undergone that way had ori- "ginally proceeded from themselves, and their own "default in owning the goods and merchandise of "the Dutch, to belong to themselves as their proper "goods, and in undertaking to carry and deliver "the wine and other goods, which were bought and "paid for in France by the Hollanders, in French "vessels in that country; all which had been fully "and notoriously proved, and could not be contra- "dicted: and when that discovery was once made, "it was no wonder if the seamen sometimes seized "upon some vessels which were not liable to the "same reproach. But when any complaints of that "kind had been made, the king had always given "strict charge to the judges to cause restitution to "be made, and the transgressors to be severely pu- "nished; and his majesty presumed that the judges "had done their duty. For the French king's being "bound by his treaty to assist the Hollanders," they said, "that if the king had any such obligation upon "him, it was subsequent to his obligation to his "majesty, by which he was bound to make no such "treaty: nor in truth did they believe that he had "entered into any such treaty; for if it were only "such as they themselves stated it to be, a defen- "sive league, it would neither engage nor excuse "France in giving assistance to them who had done "the wrong and begun the war; and therefore if

1665. A conference between them and the English ministers upon their remonstrance.

1665. "the king was in truth bound to assist them, it must "be from some offensive, not defensive clause."

The ambassadors replied, "that their master con- "cluded that their king was the aggressor, and then "the defensive article did oblige him;" and they acknowledged there was no other. It was answered, "that the king had assumed a power to judge "upon a matter of fact of which he had taken no "examination; and that it was a partiality not agree- "able to the office of a judge, to believe what the "Dutch said, and not to believe what the king said, "who had clearly published the true history of the "fact; and that it was notorious, and not possible "to be denied, that they had refused to deliver Pole- "roone according to their treaty, and that De Ruyter "had begun the war in Guinea before one of their "ships had been seized on by the king." To which they replied, "that their master thought otherwise, "and did look upon the king as aggressor." When they were urged with the violation of the former obligation by entering into the latter, all the answer they gave was, "that they knew nothing of it, and "that they had commission only to treat upon the "present state of affairs, and not upon what had "passed long before;" and so, according to the character they underwent near fourteen hundred years since, "Galli ridentes fidem fregerunt."

The counsellors of the king told them, "that "their master had very well considered the disad- "vantage he must undergo by the access of so pow- "erful a friend, and of whose friendship he had "thought himself possessed, to the part of his ene- "mies, who were too insolent already; and there- "fore to prevent that disadvantage, he had and

"would do any thing that would consist with the "dignity of a king: but that he must be laughed "at and despised by all the world, if he should con- "sent to make him the arbitrator of the differences "who had already declared himself to be a party, "and that he is resolved to make war against him "on the behalf of his enemy; and that such menaces "would make no impression in the last article of "danger that could befall the king." The ambas- sadors took that expression of menaces very heavily, as if it were a tax upon their manners, and said "they had never used words that could imply a "menace." To which it was replied, "that there "was no purpose to make any reflection upon their "persons, who had always carried themselves with "great respect to the king, and who his majesty be- "lieved did in their own particular affection wish "him better than they did the Dutch: however the "declaring, that if the king did not do this or that, "the French king would make war upon him, could "in no language be looked upon to have any other "signification than of a menace and threat." This raised a little warmth on both sides, which made the conference break off at that time. 1665.

The ambassadors prepared to be gone; and the king discerned clearly that there was no way to divert the French from an entire conjunction with the Dutch: and thereupon he assembled his secret council together again, to consult what should be the final answer his majesty should give to the French ambassadors at parting. There was no per- son present, who had not a deep apprehension of the extreme damage and danger that must fall upon the

1665. king's affairs, if in this conjuncture France should declare a war against England.

The prospect of the king's affairs at this time.

It was well known, that the duke of Beaufort was forthwith to be at Brest, where all the French king's ships were to assemble at their rendezvous by Christmas; that the French king[f] had already sent to the bishop of Munster to dissuade him from prosecuting his enterprise against Holland, and that probably he might unite Denmark again to the Dutch, and probably even allay those warm inclinations which the Swede had for the king. It was well known, that the French king had in the last distractions in Holland contributed very much to the composing them, and to the support of the power and credit of De Wit, who was the soul of the war, and that he had sent him one hundred thousand pistoles, without which they would have hardly been able to have set out their last fleet under De Ruyter. And above all this, his giving life to some domestic rebellion in England and in Ireland, by sending money to discontented persons, was apprehended: for as there were enough discontented and desperate persons in the latter, who wanted only arms and money to declare for any prince who would take them into his protection; so[g] it was well known that there was a general combination amongst those of the late army to have risen, if the duke of York had been defeated at sea, and that it was that victory that disappointed that intended insurrection. That there had been a later design, in the very height of this dismal sickness and contagion, in London, (whi-

[f] the French king] he

[g] so] *Not in MS.*

ther the fanatic party had repaired from all the quarters of the kingdom, and had appointed a day upon which the general should be assassinated, which some soldiers of his own regiment had undertaken, and then the whole rendezvous was to be in several streets at the same time;) which in so formidable a conjuncture might have succeeded to a great degree, if by God's blessing it had not been discovered two days before to the general, who caused some of the chief conspirators to be apprehended, who suffered afterwards by the hand of justice. And yet the chief amongst them, colonel Danvers, who in spite of all the vigilance that could be used had been always searched for and always concealed from the time of the king's return, being at this time apprehended and brought before the general, and by him sent with a lieutenant and a guard of soldiers to the Tower, was rescued in Cheapside, and so escaped, all the citizens looking on without aiding the officer. 1665.

This was the prospect that the king had of his condition and affairs in this consultation: and therefore if any thing could have occurred that might probably have diverted this storm, it would no doubt have been embraced. But then the exceeding breach of faith in entering into that treaty, the denying it afterwards, and concealing his engagement by it so long after the war was entered into, (which if he had not done, the king could never have looked upon him as a fit mediator,) and the impossibility of depending upon any thing that should be promised for the future, were convincing arguments against any such reference of the conditions to his determination as was proposed, and was the only expedient that was proposed towards the making a

1665. peace. It was well known that the chief counsels of France, since monsieur Colbert entered upon the ministry, had been directed towards the advancement of manufactures at home, by which they might have less need of commerce with their neighbours; and for the erecting a trade[h] abroad, with which they had been very little acquainted in former times. And it was justly to be feared, that where the judgment was left to them, they would imitate the infamous Roman precedent, of adjudging that to themselves that was in difference between their neighbours and left to their decision: and so both Poleroone in the East Indies, and Cabo Corso for the West, must be determined to belong to them; which might be the rather apprehended, by their having erected an East India company and a West India company, before they had any visible foundation for a trade in either, to which both these places might carry with them great conveniences.

A final answer given to the French ambassadors.

These considerations being seriously reflected upon, with a little generous indignation to find himself thus treated, prevailed with the king to lay aside all thoughts of further complying with France, and to resolve to dismiss the ambassadors without any other answer, than what should contain complaints, "of the French king's want of kindness, which his "majesty had cultivated by all the offices he could "perform since his restoration, which did not re-"ceive an equal return, by the preferring the friend-"ship of the Dutch before that of his majesty."

They leave the kingdom.

And with this answer the ambassadors were dismissed, with liberal presents and all gracious de-

[h] a trade] a foreign trade

monstrations of esteem of their persons, and so returned for France, where they always gave just testimony of the civilities and fair treatment they had received. 1665.

But this resolution increased the king's appetite to peace, and made him think of all other expedients that might contribute to it; and none seemed so hopeful, as that France and Holland might be divided: and he would have been very willing to have agreed with Holland upon any reasonable conditions, that he might continue the war with France; which there were many reasonable inducements to hope might be brought to pass. It was notorious, that preparations had been made for two or three years past by France at a very great expense upon the borders, that they might be ready to enter into Flanders as soon as news should arrive of the king of Spain's death; and that war would immediately fall out as soon as that king's decease should be known, which from his age and infirmities must be expected every day: and in that case the friendship could not continue long with Holland, which thought that France was already too near a neighbour to them, to be willing that they should be nearer by a conquest of Flanders, which with its own force could not make an equal resistance. It was likewise as notorious that all the other provinces, Holland only excepted, did impatiently desire the peace; and Holland had only been restrained from the same impatience by the sole credit and authority of De Wit, and by his persuading them, "that France "would assist them with men, money, and ships, and "likewise declare a war against England, which" A prospect of dividing France and Holland.

1665. (as hath been said before) "would produce a peace "upon such conditions as would make it happy to "them:" and that though it was true that it had indeed assisted them with some money, it was not considerable to their vast expenses, nor in truth of importance in comparison of the other, which it was equally obliged to do, and had performed nothing. And it was evident that Holland itself was jealous of those proceedings; and even De Wit, in his private discourses to other ministers, seemed to be much unsatisfied with their breach of faith, and not to be without apprehension that they would in the end enter into a stricter alliance with England, and leave Holland as a prey to both.

The Spanish ambassador, who always desired that the peace might be established between the English and the Dutch, and that they would both join with Spain in a defensive league, into which Denmark would be glad to enter, and Sweden might be drawn in upon the same conditions which they now received from France, towards which he had often desired the king to interpose, was now very glad that the French ambassadors had taken their leaves and were gone; and he pretended to have many assurances from the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, that the Dutch had those inclinations which are mentioned before, "and that De Wit would be glad "to confer in private with any man trusted by the "king, if he might be sure that it should not be "communicated to France." Upon all these probabilities, and the certainty that no good could be expected from France, his majesty resolved to embrace all opportunities to agree with Holland; towards

which he had a secret intelligence, to which he gave more credit than to all the rest, which shall be mentioned hereafter. 1665.

There were so many great transactions during the king's residence in Oxford, besides what was done in the parliament and what related to the dismission of the French ambassadors, so many counsels which were executed, and so many secret designs only initiated then, and not executed till long after, that there cannot be too particular a recollection of the occurrences of all that time. And if some things are mentioned which seem too light and of too small importance to have a place in this relation, they will be found at last to be the rise and principal ingredient to some counsel and resolution, which proved afterwards of consequence enough, as well to the public as to the interest of particular persons.

An attempt to break the friendship between the chancellor and treasurer.

The first attempt that was made was to make a breach between the chancellor and the treasurer, who had been long fast friends, and were believed to have most credit with the king; and they who loved neither of them thought the most likely way to hurt them was to make them love one another less. Several attempts had been made upon the chancellor to that purpose without effect: he knew the other too well to be shaken in the esteem he had of his friendship, and the knowledge he had of his virtue.

But there was now an accident fell out, that gave them an opportunity to suggest to the treasurer, "that the chancellor had failed in his friendship to- "wards him." The occasion was upon the vacancy of an office near the queen by the death of Mr. Mountague, master of the horse to her majesty, who

The occasion of it.

1665. had been killed before Bergen: and the news arriving with the duke at York, before it was known at Salisbury to the king, the duke and his wife writ to the king and to the queen "to confer that place "upon his younger brother," who was now become both the eldest and the only son to his father, the lord Mountague of Boughton; and the gentleman himself, on whose behalf the letters were writ, came himself by post with them within two or three hours after the news was brought to Salisbury, and he brought likewise a letter from the duchess to the chancellor, "to assist the gentleman all he could "in his pretence," he at the same time enjoying the same office under the duchess that his brother had under the queen.

The chancellor had never used to interpose in matters of that nature, nor had he any acquaintance with this gentleman who was now recommended: yet he could not refuse to wait upon the queen, and shew her the letter he had received, without any intention to appear further in it. But when he waited upon the queen, who had received her letter before, her majesty seemed graciously disposed to gratify the gentleman, if the king approved it; but said, "that she would make no choice herself of any "servant without knowing first his majesty's plea-"sure:" and she added, "that she had been in-"formed, that the lord Mountague was very angry "with his son that was unfortunately slain, for hav-"ing taken that charge in her family, and that he "never allowed him any thing towards his support; "and if all other obstructions were out of the way, "she would not receive him, except she were first "assured that his father would like and desire it."

Her majesty vouchsafed to wish the chancellor "to 1665.
"speak with the king, and as dexterously as he could
"to dispose him to recommend Mr. Mountague to
"her, as just and reasonable, since his brother had
"lost his life in his service."

This command of her majesty obliged the chancellor to wait upon the king, and to shew him the letter he had received from the duchess; and at the same time the king gave him that which he had from the duke, in which his highness desired him, "that if that place was not presently conferred upon "Mr. Mountague, his majesty would not dispose of "it till he waited upon him." The chancellor told him, "that the queen gave no answer, but referred "it entirely to his majesty." And he said, "he "would never recommend any person to her but "such a one as would be very grateful to her." He said, "it would seem very hard to deny one brother "to succeed another who was killed in his service." He confessed, "that the lord Crofts had moved him "on the behalf of Mr. Robert Spencer, of whom he "had a good opinion: but that he had answered "him, that he would not do any thing in it till "he saw his brother; which resolution he would "keep." To which the chancellor made no reply, having in his own private inclinations and affection much more kindness for Mr. Spencer, of whose pretence he had never received the least intimation before, than for the other, with whom he had spoken very few words in his life. He told Mr. Mountague no more but that which the king himself had told him, "that he would not dispose of the place till "the duke should arrive;" only he added what the queen had said of his father, and advised him

1665. to think of the way to remove that obstruction. Whereupon he resolved to make a journey to his father, which he knew he might well do before the king and his brother could meet.

The same night Mr. Spencer came to the chancellor, and brought him a letter from the treasurer (whose nephew he was, and who was unfortunately gone out of the town the day before to a house of his own twenty miles distant) to recommend his nephew to the queen, to whom and to the king he had likewise letters. The chancellor gave him an account of all that had passed, shewed him the letter that he had received from the duchess, and told him what the queen and the king had said, and "that it "was not possible for him to do him service, for "which he was very sorry;" but advised him "to "deliver both his letters, and to attend their ma-"jesties, who he was confident had yet taken no re-"solution:" with all which he was very well satistisfied, and confessed "he could not expect that he "should appear for him." When he delivered his letters to both their majesties, he received so gracious an answer from both, that he might reasonably expect[1] his suit to be granted, though the king told him, "he would not dispose of the place till he "spake with his brother." And there is no doubt but if the lord treasurer had been in the town when the news first came to the king of Mr. Mountague's death, which was a whole day before the arrival of the duke's letter, the king or queen would not have denied him his request.

Within a short time after Mr. Spencer had left

[1] expect] *Omitted in MS.*

him, the lord Crofts, who had married his sister, and 1665.
was governed by the lord Arlington, came to the chancellor, and desired him "to take care, out of "his friendship with the treasurer, that the king "might not refuse to gratify him in this suit for his "nephew, which was the first he had ever made; "and if he should be denied, it would exceedingly "trouble him. That when he spake to the king of "it, as soon as the news came, and told him, he was "sure that the treasurer would be a suitor to him "for his nephew, his majesty did promise him that "he should have it; and that both their majesties "had as good as said the same now to Robert "Spencer: and therefore, if he would now use his "credit, the thing might be despatched presently, "and without further delay."

The chancellor asked him, "whether Mr. Spencer "had informed him of all that had passed between "them two:" he said, "yes; and that he had done "all that the duchess had desired him, in speaking "both to the king and queen, and that his friendship "to the lord treasurer should prevail with him to "use all his endeavours for his nephew." Whereupon the chancellor shewed the duchess's letter, and repeated to him again all that he had formerly said to Mr. Spencer, and asked him, "what the duke "and his wife must think of him, if, instead of pursuing what they desired, he should solicit quite "contrary to it." He said, "that he might tell "them that he was engaged by the lord treasurer "before he received their letter;" and then talked passionately and indiscreetly "of the affront the "treasurer would think he received, if this were denied him; and that all the world would say, that

1665. "he might have compassed it, if he had not failed "in his friendship." To which he made no other answer, than "that the doing so base a thing as he "desired would more probably destroy that friend- "ship with a man so punctual in honour and justice "as the treasurer was, than any thing that he had "done or should leave undone;" and advised him "not to make the business worse by his activity, "and that if he had the king's and queen's promise, "as he pretended, he might very well acquiesce till "the duke came."

However, his very great indiscretion and presumption made the thing much worse, by delivering messages from the king to the queen, and from her majesty to the king, that they both disavowed, and by his usual discourses, "that it should now "appear who had the most credit with the king, "the duke or the treasurer, and how much the king "would suffer, if he disobliged the treasurer;" all which was quickly transmitted by the intelligence that was every day sent to York. On the other hand, he still advised the treasurer "to continue his "importunity to the king and queen," (a thing the most contrary to his nature,) and assured him, "that "it would be grateful to them, and was expected "by them." Whereupon, as soon as the treasurer came to the court, which was not till the king came to Oxford, he went to both their majesties, and renewed his suit to them with more warmth and concernment than was customary to him, and received such an answer from both as very well satisfied him: and without doubt the king intended to persuade his brother to desist from pressing him further on the behalf of the other, for whom he had no kindness.

But the duke, who arrived by post the very next day, came in another temper than was expected. The intelligence from Salisbury of the contest that was for that place, and the insolent behaviour and expressions used by the lord Crofts, had exceedingly moved him, and he looked upon the treasurer as engaged to try who had the greatest power, and as[k] in opposition to him: so that the same night that he came to town, when the king and he were in private, he complained of it with much warmth; and he besought his majesty importunately "that he "would declare, that the world might know who had "most interest in his favour, he or the treasurer." The king was so much put out of the method he intended to use in this affair, knowing that the expressions the duke had mentioned had been too often used by the lord Crofts, for which he had often reprehended him, that he presently applied that remedy which he thought most proper; and, after conference with the queen, signed the warrant for admitting Mr. Mountague into the office, who was sworn the next morning: so that the first news the treasurer heard, after both their majesties had the day before said all to him that he could desire, was, that the place was already full; which he received with more commotion than was natural to him; and looked upon it as a designed contrived affront, to expose him to contempt. "Why would not the "king, if he had changed his mind after he left "him, first send him word of it, that he might have "known his purpose?" 1665.

All this storm fell presently upon the chancellor:

[k] as] *Not in MS.*

1665. the lord Crofts assured him, "that it had been done "at Salisbury, if he had not hindered it; that he "had been with the duke before he spake with "the king, and given him advice what tune he "should speak in, which was used accordingly, and "had prevailed; and that when he came into the "duke's chamber to kiss his hand, his highness "turned away, and would not speak to him, which "must proceed from the influence of the chancellor." Whereas in truth the chancellor had only seen the duke in public, and said no more to him than what he said in public, thinking it no good manners to trouble him with any private discourse, when he was so weary of his journey; nor did he know that any thing was done in that affair till the day after it was done, and after it was known to the treasurer. Upon the whole matter, how unwilling soever he was to believe that he could be so grossly faulty to him, when he saw the chancellor next, his countenance was not the same it used to be; which the other taking notice of, asked him, according to his usual familiarity, "what the matter was;" but received such an answer as made him discern that there was somewhat amiss: and so he said no more. The other being the same day with the king, the duke came into the room, and in his looks manifested a displeasure towards the treasurer, which confirmed the former jealousy of the chancellor; which was improved by the ladies, who did not like their lodging, and thought it proceeded from want of friendship in him, who had the power over the university, and might have assigned what lodgings he pleased to the treasurer; and he had assigned this, as the best house in the town for so great a

family, and which their own servant had desired as the best in the town, as it was. 1665.

When the chancellor discovered the ground of this alteration, he grew out of humour too, and thought himself unworthily suspected: and so for two or three days the two friends came not together. And in that time the chancellor had enough to do to inform the duke, who was not only very much offended with the treasurer, but thought that he had been, out of his friendship to the treasurer, more remiss than he ought to have been in a business so earnestly recommended by him and his wife; and the intelligence from Salisbury had made reflections upon him as much as upon the other. But his royal highness willingly received information of all that had passed, and discerned the foul carriage of others as well as of the lord Crofts; and was pleased to confess, "that he had done all he ought to do, and "that he had been misinformed of the lord trea-"surer's part in that affair, which had made him "think amiss of him; which he would acknowledge "to him next time he saw him."

After this the chancellor, having a more clear view, upon conference with the king and the duke, of this pernicious design, which in some degree had compassed its end, if there grew a strangeness between the treasurer and him, went to him: and they being together without any others, he told him, "it "should not be in his power to break friendship "with him to gratify the humour of other people, "without letting him know what the matter was," which he conjured him to impart to him; assuring him, "that he would find that nothing was more im-"possible than that he could commit a fault towards

1665. "him, and that they who wished well to neither of "them had contrived this separation as the best "way to hurt them both." And when he saw that he did not yet open himself, he told him, "that he "had heard that he had received some umbrage in "the pretence of his nephew, and therefore he would "give him an account of all that he knew of it," which he did exactly; and concluded with a protestation, "that he had not known what had been "done at Oxford till after he came from him, when "he observed the change of his countenance towards "him, of the cause of which he could not then make "any conjecture."

The treasurer thereupon with his usual freedom told him, "that if his part had been no other than "as he related, he thought himself obliged to give "him a narration of all he had done, and of the "grounds and motives he had to think that he had "failed in his friendship." And thereupon he mentioned "the kindness and esteem he had for his "nephew, whom he thought in all respects of birth "and breeding at least as worthy of that relation as "the gentleman who was possessed of it; and yet "that since he was not upon the place, he had no "mind to engage himself in the suit: and that "when his nephew had given him an account what "the chancellor had said to him," which he did with great ingenuity, "and he knew that the duke of "York appeared in it for another, he resolved to "prosecute it no further; until the lord Crofts with "all confidence assured him, that the king had pro-"mised him to confer the place upon Robert Spencer, "and that both their majesties expected that he "should make it his suit, to the end that they might

" thereby decline the importunity that he expected 1665.
" from his brother." He told him of some expressions he had used to the king in that affair, which the king himself had reported; and " that when he took his " leave of the queen to go to Oxford," (which was the next day after Mr. Mountague came from York,) " he dissuaded her majesty from receiving Mr. " Spencer, alleging some reasons against it, which a " lady who was near overheard, and informed the " person of, it who acquainted him with it: all " which, with the king's and queen's so ample pro- " mises to him so few hours before the conferring " the place upon another, and the duke of York's " manner of receiving him after he had been shut " up with him, as he was informed, might very well " excuse him for thinking he had some share in the " affront he had undergone."

To which the other replied, " that if indeed he " did believe all that he had been told, he could not " but think so; but," he said, " he thought he had " known him better than to give credit to such re- " ports, which must make him a fool and a knave: " that for the words he should have used to the " king or the queen, there had nothing passed like " it to either of them, but that they were purely " devised out of malice; which should be manifest " unto him, for he would not speak a word of it to " the king till they were both with him together; " and then he would ask before him what his car- " riage had been, and by his majesty's sudden an- " swer he might judge of the report." He told him then, " how much he had suffered with the duke, " and what excellent stories had been made to his " royal highness of both of them, and of the good

1665. "part the lord Crofts had acted, of which he was "not without some evidence." After this eclaircissement, of the sincerity whereof every day administered new testimony, they both returned to their mutual confidence in each other: and they who had contrived this former device entered into a new confederacy, how they might first remove the treasurer, which would facilitate the pulling the chancellor down; of which anon.

The duke consults the chancellor about making two suits to the king.

Within a short time after the duke returned out of Yorkshire, his highness told the chancellor in confidence, "that he had two suits which he in- "tended to make to the king, and with which he "first acquainted him, that he might have his as- "sistance in the obtaining them. The first was, in "which he and his wife were equally engaged, to "prevail with the king to make sir George Savile a "viscount." He said, "he knew well the resolution "the king had taken, to which he had contributed "his advice, to make no more lords: but that he "hoped in this particular case his majesty would "upon his desire dispense with a general rule. "That sir George had one of the best fortunes of "any man in England, and lived the most like a "great man; that he had been very civil to him "and his wife in the north, and treated them at his "house in a very splendid manner; and that he "was engaged to prevail with the king in this "point, or to confess he had no power, which he "hoped he should not be without in this matter;" and asked his opinion.

The chancellor in his usual freedom, which he always took when he was to deliver his advice to the king or duke, said, "that he could not advise

" his highness to move the king in it; for besides 1665.
" that he knew the king's positive determination,
" the departure from which might be of ill con-
" sequence, sir George Savile was a man of a very
" ill reputation amongst men of piety and reli-
" gion, and was looked upon as void of all sense
" of religion, even to the doubting, if not denying,
" that there is a God, and that he was not reserved
" in any company to publish his opinions: which
" made him believe that it would neither be for
" his highness's honour to propose it, nor for the
" king's to grant it, in a time when all license in
" discourse and in actions was spread over the king-
" dom, to the heart-breaking of very many good
" men[1], who had terrible apprehensions of the con-
" sequence of it." The duke was not at all pleased with his discourse, and said, " he was resolved to
" use all his credit with the king to compass it, and
" that he hoped, that whatever he thought, he would
" not oppose it."

The other particular was, " that he would move
" the king to make Mr. Coventry his secretary a
" privy counsellor;" and asked him " what he
" thought of that." To which he answered, " that
" his opinion in that point would please him no bet-
" ter than in the former. That he did not think it
" fit to be asked: and if the king his brother were
" inclined to be jealous of him, as some had endea-
" voured to persuade him, such an instance as this
" would very much confirm it; for never any
" prince of Wales had a servant of the highest de-
" gree about him called to the council, till his father
" called the earl of Newcastle, who was the prince's

[1] men]. *Omitted in MS.*

1665. "governor, to the board; which was not till upon "the approach of the troubles he discerned that he "should employ him in another charge. That the "members of that board had been always those "great officers of state, and other officers, who in "respect of the places they held had a title to sit "there, and of such few others who, having great "titles and fortunes and interest in the kingdom, "were an ornament to the table. That there were "at present too many already, and the number "lessened the dignity of the relation: that his high-"ness had already brought the lord Berkley thither, "who had no manner of title to be there but his de-"pendance upon him; and now to bring in his se-"cretary, for no other reason but for being his se-"cretary, might be thought an encroachment, and "be misinterpreted by the king." He added, "that "his wrangling litigious nature would give the "board much trouble; and that he knew him to be "so much his particular enemy, that he would "watch all the opportunities to do him all possible "ill offices to the king and to his royal highness."

The duke replied only to the last, and said, "he "perceived somebody had done Will. Coventry ill "offices, which he knew to be unjust and false: "and that he could assure him, upon his own "knowledge, that he had a great respect for him, "and desired his favour; and that he would pass "his word for him, that he would never do any "thing to disserve him, which if he should do, he "should for ever lose his favour, which he knew "well." And no doubt the duke did believe all he said, for he had a perfect kindness for the chancellor; and when he did not comply with what he

wished, he knew that it was out of the integrity of his judgment, and his strict duty to the king and himself, and that he had never flattered or dissembled with either of them. And Mr. Coventry had skill enough to persuade him to believe what he desired should be true, though there were in the view of all men frequent instances of the contrary, and of the absence of all ingenuity and sincerity in his actions. 1665.

The duke moves the king to make sir George Savile a viscount;

Within very few days after this conference, and when the duchess had made new instance with her father in the case of sir George Savile, and with more importunity than the duke, and appeared more concerned and troubled that he should not be more forward to comply with the duke's desires, (but the chancellor, who always with the respect that was due to her quality preserved the dignity of a father very entire, would give no other answer than he had done to the duke, and advised her to dissuade him from making the request to the king;) his highness one day desired the king that he would retire into his closet, and call the chancellor to him: and when they three were together in the room, after a short discourse of letters which he had received from the earl of Sandwich, which there will be occasion anon to mention at large, the duke told the king, "he had an humble suit to his majesty;" and then spake much of the great interest that sir George Savile had in the northern parts, of the greatness of his estate, and his orderly and splendid way of living, and concluded with his desire, "that "his majesty would make him an English viscount." Upon which the king presently put him in mind "of the resolution he had formerly made in that

1665. "room, and he thought upon his own motion, but "he was sure it had been with his concurrence and "approbation."

The duke replied, "that he remembered it very "well, and thought he should do well still in the "general to observe it: yet it was in those cases al- "ways supposed, that an extraordinary case might "fall out, that might produce an exception; and he "did most humbly beseech his majesty, that he "would, upon his very earnest interposition, from "which nobody could make a precedent, dispense "with the rule." He did confess, "that he was so "confident of his majesty's favour, that he had given "sir George Savile cause to believe that he would "prevail in that suit; which if he should not do, he "must be thought either not to have intended what "he promised, or to have no credit with his ma- "jesty, neither of which would be for his honour."

Which the king will not consent to.

The king replied roundly, and with more presence of mind than he had always about him, "that "it was absolutely necessary to be very precise in "the observation of the rule, which if he should "once break, a world of inconveniences would break "in upon him, which he could not defend himself "against." He named two or three persons who were very solicitous for honours, and had several pretences to it, and his majesty had only been able to resist and evade their importunity, by objecting this declared resolution to them. The plain truth is; he had made some promise (a weakness he was too often liable to) to those persons or to their friends, "that when he should make any new creations, "they should be sure to be in the number:" nor did he apprehend any inconvenience from redeeming

himself from the present importunity, which was still grievous to him, since he had resolved to make no new creation. And this was the true reason that made him now so inexorable to his brother, who was very much troubled, and declined to move any thing else in so unlucky a season, not without some apprehension, from the king's quicker way of discourse, that he had been prepared for it by the chancellor, who though present had not spoke one word in the debate, nor indeed ever informed the king of the conference his highness had formerly held with him upon that subject, nor ever spoken to him concerning it. 1665.

However, in this perplexity, as the duke thought it necessary to inform Mr. Coventry, who had principally advanced this pretence, all that had passed before the king, that his nephew (for so sir George Savile was) might see he could make no further progress in it; so in the passion he unwarily told him all that had passed in the former conference with the chancellor, which he took care should not be concealed from any who were like to be willing to revenge it. And the duke, to shew how willing he was to oblige the family, immediately received a younger brother of sir George Savile, whom he had only seen in the north, to wait upon him in his bedchamber; who being a young man of wit, and incredible confidence and presumption, omitted no occasion to vent his malice against the chancellor, with a license that in former times would have been very penal, though it had concerned a person of a much inferior quality in the state.

Within a short time after, the king told the chancellor, "that his brother had desired him that Mr. William Coventry admitted of

1665. " his secretary Mr. Coventry might be admitted of
" the privy-council, which he could not deny, but
" had promised it should be done at the next meet-
" ing;" which was accordingly done, and he knighted: and quickly after, upon the like desire of the duke, he was called to that committee with which his majesty used to consult his most secret affairs. And from this time there was an alteration in the whole carriage and debate of all manner of business: and as the chancellor had found his own credit with the king much diminished from the time of the lord Arlington's being secretary; so a greater decrease of it was now visible to all men from the access of this new counsellor.

the privy-council and the private committee;

The lord Arlington had not the gift of speaking nor of a quick conception, and so rarely contradicted any thing in council: his talent was in private, where he frequently procured, very inconveniently, changes and alterations from public determinations. But sir William Coventry (between whom and the other there was an entire conjunction and combination) was a man of quick parts and a ready speaker, unrestrained by any modesty or submission to the age, experience, or dignity of other men; equally censorious of what had been done before he was a counsellor, as solicitous in contradiction of whatsoever was proposed afterwards: insomuch as the very first time that he was admitted to the private committee, the debate being about providing money to be paid at a day approaching to the bishop of Munster, according to the king's obligation, he said, " we had
" need enough of money for our own immediate
" occasions; and that we ought not to assign any to
" the advancement of the affairs of other men."

Whereupon he was informed "of the treaty the "king had entered into, and that the bishop was at "that time upon his march, which was by every "body looked upon as of great importance to his "majesty;" to which he answered, "that he had "heard somewhat of it, how secretly soever it had "been carried, and that he had never liked it from "the beginning, nor would give his consent that any "more money should be paid towards it;" which the king himself looked upon as a rare impudence. 1665.

His great ambition was to be taken notice of for opposing and contradicting whatsoever was proposed or said by the chancellor or treasurer, towards whom all other counsellors, how little soever they cared for their persons, had ever paid respect in regard of their offices. He was a declared enemy to all lawyers, and to the law itself; and any thing passed under the great seal of England was of no more authority with him, than if it were the scroll of a scrivener. He had no principles in religion or state; of one mind this day, and another to-morrow; and always very uneasy to those who were obliged to consult with him; whose pride and insolence will administer frequent occasions of mention throughout the ensuing relation. Where he constantly opposes the chancellor and treasurer.

The king had not been many days in Oxford, when news arrived that the earl of Sandwich had been engaged in some conflict with the Dutch fleet; of the particulars whereof there was a general longing to be advertised. The truth was, that whilst the earl rode, after the business of Bergen, as near that coast as was safe, in expectation of the Dutch fleet, the winds, which are always tempestuous in that season of the year, September, made it abso- Success of the fleet after the attempt at Bergen.

1665. lutely necessary for him to remove with his whole fleet to the coast of Scotland, where there were harbours enough for him to ride safe; and in this interval of time De Ruyter was passed by towards that of Norway. The news of their Indian fleet having been attacked by the English in Bergen, and the letters of some of their officers, which implied as if they were not satisfied in the security of the port and of the fidelity of the governor, produced a wonderful consternation in Holland; and if they should be deprived of that wealth, the very company of the East Indies would be in danger of being dissolved.

The fleet was ready to set sail, under the command of De Ruyter, well fitted and manned: but there were still many [m] factions amongst the captains and other officers, that might upon any accidents produce many mischiefs; for the better prevention whereof, the pensionary De Wit was willing to venture his own person, believing himself to be as secure any where as on shore, if any misfortune should befall the fleet. And so he was by a special commission made plenipotentiary, with an ample allowance for his table, and a guard of halberdiers for the safety of his person, with a good train of volunteers: and so he put himself on board the ship of De Ruyter, who received orders from him.

Lord Sandwich not able to come to an engagement with De Ruyter;

The earl of Sandwich, after he had received advertisements of the Dutch fleet's being passed by for Norway, took all the care he could to put himself and his fleet in the way of their return. They made a short stay on the coast of Norway, where upon good consideration their ships were dismissed,

[m] many] so many

and loud clamour raised against the hostility of the English. And notwithstanding all the vigilance the earl could use, the darkness and length of the nights so favoured them, that he could not engage their whole fleet, as he endeavoured to do: yet he had the good fortune in two encounters to take eight of their great ships of war, two of their best East India ships, and about twenty of their other merchant ships, which were all under the protection of their fleet, or ought to have been. After which he was by tempest driven to put the fleet into security in the English harbours, it being already the month of October. 1665. But takes many of his ships in their flight.

It was a fair booty, and came very opportunely to supply the present necessities of the navy, and to provide for the setting out of the next fleet at spring, and was in truth gotten with very good conduct, and without any considerable damage: but it being much less than was expected, (for whatsoever was upon the sea was looked upon as our own,) the news no sooner arrived at Oxford, but intelligence came with it of many oversights which had been committed and opportunities lost, otherwise it had been easy to have taken the whole fleet; and that it might have been pursued further when it was in view, after those East India ships were taken, which were indeed surprised and boarded at the break of day, when they thought themselves in the middle of their own fleet. And it is as true that the earl did then pursue to engage the fleet, till they were got so near the French shore, that the wind blowing in to the land, it was by all the flag-officers thought absolutely necessary to give over the chace.

1665. Sir William Coventry, who had never paid a civility to any worthy man but as it was a disobligation to another whom he cared less for, and so had only contributed to the preferment of the earl of Sandwich in the last expedition that he might cross prince Rupert, received much intelligence from several officers in the fleet, which he scattered abroad to the prejudice of the earl, and was willing that it should be believed that he had been too wary in avoiding danger. But the king and the duke were very just to the earl, and discountenanced all those reports as scandals and calumnies: and the duke, who had seen his behaviour in the most dangerous action, gave him a loud testimony "of a prudent "and brave commander, and as forward and bold in "the face of danger as the occasion required or dis-"cretion permitted." And his highness undertook "that he had in all this expedition done what a "man of honour was obliged to do," and was abundantly satisfied (as his majesty likewise was) with the rich prizes he had brought home, which had caused equal lamentation in Holland, and almost broke the heart of De Wit himself. But what success soever the earl had at sea, it was his misfortune to do an unadvised action when he came into the harbour, that lessened the king's own esteem of him, and to a great degree irreconciled the duke to him, and gave opportunity to his enemies to do him much prejudice.

Sir W. Coventry's unjust reflections upon him.

It was a constant and a known rule in the admiralty, that of any ship that is taken from the enemy bulk is not to be broken, till it be brought into the port and adjudged lawful prize. It seems that when

An imprudent action of the earl of Sandwich after his return;

the fleet returned to the harbour, the flag-officers petitioned or moved the earl of Sandwich, "in regard of their having continued all the summer "upon the seas with great fatigue, and been engaged in many actions of danger, that he would "distribute amongst them some reward out of the "Indian ships;" which he thought reasonable, and inclined to satisfy them, and writ a letter to the vice-chamberlain to inform the king of it, and "that "he thought it fit to be done;" to which the vice-chamberlain, having shewed the letter to the king, returned his majesty's approbation. But before the answer came to his hand, he had executed the design, and distributed as much of the coarser goods to the flag-officers, as by estimation was valued to be one thousand pounds to each officer, and took to the value of two thousand pounds for himself. This suddenly made such a noise and outcry, as if all the Indian and other merchant ships had been plundered by the seamen: and they again cried out as much, that no care was taken of them, but all given to the flag-officers; which the other captains thought to be an injury to them. 1665.

Which the general represents in the worst light.

The general (who had nothing like kindness for the earl of Sandwich, whose service he thought had been too much considered and recompensed by the king at his arrival) had notice of it before it came to Oxford; and, according to his universal care, (which was afterwards found to proceed from private animosity,) sent orders to all the port towns, to seize upon goods which were brought in shallops from the fleet; and gave advertisement to Oxford of the extraordinary ill consequence of that action, and "that "it would spoil the sale of all that remained of those

1665. "ships, since the East India company, which pro-
"bably would have been the best chapmen, would
"not now be forward to buy, since so much was
"disposed of already to other hands as would spoil
"their market." And by this time the earl himself had given an account of all that had been done, and the motives, to the duke. The king was justly displeased for the expedition he had used, "Why had "his approbation been desired, when he resolved to "do the thing before he could receive an answer?" yet[n] was glad that he had done so, because he would have been more excusable if he had received it.

The king offended with the earl

The duke incensed against him.

But the duke, who had been constantly kind to the earl, was offended in the highest degree, and thought himself injured and affronted beyond any precedent. "This most unjustifiable action could "proceed only from two fountains: the one of ex-"treme vanity and ambition, to make himself popu-"lar amongst the officers of the fleet, who ought not "to have been gratified by him at the king's charge. "When any such bounty should be seasonable, it "was the duke's province to have been the author, "and the conduit to have conveyed it: he had him-"self been an eyewitness of their behaviour in the[o] "greatest action; and for the earl to assume the "rewarding them by his own authority, was to de-"fraud and rob him of his proper right and juris-"diction." And he looked upon his having desired the king's allowance by the vice-chamberlain, as a trick and an aggravation; for he ought to have asked his advice, as his superior officer: and the

[n] yet] and

[o] the] their

poor vice-chamberlain underwent his share in the reproach, for having presumed to move the king in a particular, that, if it was to be moved at all, had been to be moved by the duke. "The other foun- "tain which might produce this presumption might "be avarice," which was the sole blemish (though it never appeared in any gross instance) that seemed to cloud many noble virtues in that earl, who now became a very pregnant evidence of the irresistible strength and power of envy; which though it feeds on its own poison, and is naturally more grievous to the person who harbours it, than to him that is maligned, yet when it finds a subject it can effectually work upon, it is more insatiable in revenge than any passion the soul is liable unto. 1665.

Character of the earl of Sandwich.

He was a gentleman of so excellent a temper and behaviour, that he could make himself no enemies; of so many good qualities, and so easy to live with, that he marvellously reconciled the minds of all men to him, who had not intimacy enough with him to admire his other parts: yet was in the general inclinations of men upon some disadvantage. They who had constantly followed the king whilst he as constantly adhered to Cromwell, and knew not how early he had entertained repentance, and with what hazards and dangers he had manifested it, did believe the king had been too prodigal in heaping so many honours upon him. And they who had been familiar with him and of the same party, and thought they had been as active as he in contributing to the revolution, considered him with some anger, as one who had better luck than they without more merit, and who had made early conditions: when in truth no man in the kingdom had been

1665. less guilty of that address; nor did he ever contribute to any advancement to which he arrived, by the least intimation or insinuation that he wished it, or that it would be acceptable to him. Yet upon this blast the winds rose from all quarters, reproaches of all sorts were cast upon him, and all affronts contrived for him.

He is very injuriously treated.

The earl had conveyed that part of the goods which he had assigned to himself in a shallop to Lynn, from whence it could pass by water to his own house. An officer in that port seized upon it by virtue of the general's warrant, and would cause it presently to be unladen, which he began to do. But the servants of the earl appealed to the other officers in equal authority, to whom they brought a letter with them from the earl of Sandwich, in which he owned all those goods to be his, (amongst which were his bedding and furniture for his cabin, and all his plate, and other things suitable,) and likewise a note of all the other goods which might be liable to pay custom; and desired them "to send one of "their searchers with the boat to his house, where "he should receive all their dues, without being "unladen in the port;" which, besides the delay, would be liable to many inconveniences. The officer who had first arrested it, and who had dependance upon a great man of the country, who was not unwilling that any affront should be put upon the earl, roughly refused to suffer it to pass without being first unladen; but being overruled by the other officers, vented his anger in very unmannerly language against the earl: of all which he, being advertised by his servants, sent a complaint to the lords of the council, and desired "the fellow might be sent for

" and punished;" which could not be refused, though it proved troublesome in the inquiry. For the officer, who was a gentleman of a fair behaviour and good repute, denied all those words which carried in them the worst interpretation; but justified the action, and produced the general's warrant, which had unusual expressions, and apparent enough to have a particular and not a general intention. 1665.

The general had quick advertisement of it, and writ very passionately from London, " that an offi- " cer should be sent for without having committed " any other offence than in obeying and executing " a warrant of his:" and the other great man, who was of great importance to the king's service, and in the highest trust in that country, writ several letters, " how impossible it would be to carry on the " king's service in that country, if that officer should " be punished for doing that, when he ought to be " punished if he had not done it;" and therefore desired, " that he might be repaired by them who had " caused him to be sent for."

Sir William Coventry had now full sea-room to give vent to all his passions, and to incense the duke, who was enough offended without such contributions: " if this proceeded from covetousness, it " was not probable that it would be satisfied with so " little; and therefore it was probable, that though " the officers might not have received above the va- " lue of one thousand pounds," which was assigned to each, " yet himself would not be contented with " so little as two thousand; and they might there- " fore well conceive that he had taken much more, " which ought to be examined with the greatest " strictness." There had been nothing said before

1665. of not taking advantage enough upon the enemy in all occasions which had been offered, and of not pursuing them far enough, which was not now renewed, with [p] advice, "that he might be presently "sent for;" though it was known that, as soon as he could put the ships into the ports to which they were designed, he would come to Oxford. And there were great underhand endeavours, that the house of commons might be inflamed with this miscarriage and misdemeanor, and present it as a complaint to the house of peers, as fit to be examined and brought to judgment before that tribunal. And they, who with all the malice imaginable did endeavour in vain to kindle this fire, persuaded the king and the duke, "that by their sole activity and "interest it was prevented for that time, because "the session was too short, and that all necessary "evidence could not be soon produced at Oxford; "but that, as soon as the plague should cease to "such a degree in London that the parliament "might assemble there, it would be impossible to "restrain the house of commons from pursuing that "complaint," of which nobody thought but themselves and they who were provoked by them.

The earl of Sandwich had so good intelligence from Oxford, that he knew all that was said of him, and began to believe that he had done unadvisedly in administering occasion of speaking ill to those who greedily sought for it: and as soon as his absence from the fleet could be dispensed with, he made haste to Oxford, and gave so full an account of every day's action, from the time that he went to

He fully clears himself of the charge of misconduct at sea;

[p] with] without

sea to the day of his return, and of his having never done any thing of importance, nor having left any thing undone, but with and by the advice of the council of war, upon the orders he had received, that both the king and the duke could not but absolve him from all the imputations of negligence or inadvertency. 1665.

But for the breaking bulk, and the circumstances that attended it, they declared they were unsatisfied. And he confessed "that he had been much to "blame," and asked pardon, and with such excuses as he thought might in some degree plead for him. He protested, "it seemed to him to have had some "necessity: that the whole fleet was in a general "indisposition, and complained, that for all that "summer action" (which indeed had been full of merit) "they had nothing given to them, not without "some muttering that they would have somewhat "out of those Indian ships before they would part "with them; insomuch as he had a real apprehen-"sion that they had a purpose to plunder them. "And he should have feared more, if he had not "complied with the flag-officers' importunity: and "thereupon he consented that they should have "each of them the value of one thousand pounds, "and which he was most confident the goods which "had been delivered to them did not exceed." He confessed "he had not enough considered the con-"sequence, and that they who had not received any "donative would be more displeased, than they who "had it were satisfied with it; which he acknow-"ledged was the case: that he was heartily sorry "for permitting any such thing to be done, and "more for having taken any himself, and humbly

And makes an ingenuous acknowledgment of his imprudence;

1665. "asked[q] pardon for both; and desired[r] that his "own part, which remained entire, might be re- "stored to the ship from whence it had been taken, "which he would cause to be done."

A more ingenuous acknowledgment could not be made: and they who could not but observe many persons every day excused for more enormous transgressions, did hope that he, who had so few faults to answer for, would have been absolved for that tres-

With which the king is satisfied.

pass. And the king himself used him very graciously, and so did the duke; and he was sent back to the fleet, to give order for the sending out a winter-guard and ordering all other maritime affairs, and for the sending up the India ships into the river, with great care that none of the seamen should go on shore, where the plague still raged little if at all less than it had done in the summer: and so he himself and most other men believed and were glad, that an ill business was so well composed. But sir William did not intend that it should end there.

The East India prizes sold for the service of the war.

The present business, that must admit no interruption, was the raising what money might be to supply the present necessities of the fleet, to pay the seamen, and to make all preparations to set out the fleet against the spring, when the French ships would be infallibly ready to join with the Dutch; and the money that was given by the parliament would not be paid till long after; and the affairs of the bankers were in such disorder by the death of servants, and the plague having been in some of their houses, that the usual course of advancing monies by assignations could not be depended upon.

[q] asked] *Omitted in MS.* [r] desired] *Omitted in MS.*

The general had written to the lord treasurer, "that 1665.
"he thought that there could not be so good chap-
"men for those ships as the East India company,
"some whereof had been with him to know the
"king's pleasure; and if authority were granted to
"any men to treat upon that affair, they would
"send for members enough of their company, who
"were dispersed in the country, to be present at a
"court, which would authorize a committee to
"treat and contract with them:" and he said,
"that he was confident that half the money would
"be paid upon the making the bargain." The king was no sooner advertised of this overture, than he sent sir George Carteret and Mr. Ashburnham to London, to confer with the general and to be advised by him, and granted authority to them three to sell those two prizes to those who would give most. And they found no overtures to be so advantageous as those which were made by that company: and yet they made so much use of the advantage of the time, when all men of notorious wealth were out of the town, that they thought not fit to make any agreement till they gave the king an account of the whole transaction, with their opinions, upon conference with other men of business; and to that purpose the two persons who had been sent to the general returned safe to Oxford.

It hath been mentioned before, that it was thought a great presumption in any body to presume to interpose in the maritime affairs, which was interpreted to be an invasion of the duke's peculiar province[s]; and by this means the credit of sir

[s] province] *Not in MS.*

1665. William Coventry was so absolute, that the disposal of all was in his power. He had persuaded the duke, and the lord Arlington, who was in firm conjunction with him, had prevailed with the king to believe, "that the house of commons was so in-censed against the lord Sandwich for his late pre-"sumption, that it would not be possible to hinder "them in their next assembling" (which was appointed or resolved to be in April, if it pleased God to extinguish the sickness) "from falling[t] very se-"verely upon the earl of Sandwich, which would "be a very great dishonour to the king, if he were "at that time in the command of the fleet; and "that there was no way to preserve him" (for that was their method when they had a mind to ruin a man, to pretend a great care that he might not be undone) "but by dismissing him from that charge, "which probably might preserve him from being "further questioned, since it would be interpreted "a punishment inflicted on him by the king for his "crime, and so might stop him from being further "prosecuted for the same offence." To which they added, "that it would be necessary in another re-"spect; for that many of the officers, as well as "common seamen, had opened their mouths very "wide against him, especially after it was gene-"rally known that the king and the duke were of-"fended with him, and had not been at all reserved "in charging him with several reproaches: and that "if the same command were still continued in him, "it could not be presumed that those men would "ever put themselves under his command whom "they had so much provoked."

The king persuaded to remove lord Sandwich from the command of the fleet.

[t] from falling] to fall

These arguments, urged by men who were not known, at least by the king and duke, to be his enemies, and one of them thought to be (and in truth was, but for his conjunction with the other) his friend, and to wish him very well, prevailed upon the judgments of both of them; insomuch as they resolved to confer with the chancellor, whom they knew to be much the earl's friend. And they both expressed "very much kindness to and confidence "in the affection and integrity and courage of the "earl of Sandwich, though he was to be blamed for "his late indiscretion, and a resolution with their "utmost power to defend him from undergoing any "disgrace by it: but that it would contribute most "to his preservation, that he quitted the employment, and that some other persons should be sent "to command the next fleet in the spring. For if "he should again go to sea, and the[u] parliament "should press to have him sent for, to answer what "they had to object against him, his majesty must "either refuse to consent to it, which would make "a breach with his parliament, or by consenting disorder his maritime affairs to that degree, that the "enemy could not but take very great advantage of "it." Therefore they commanded the chancellor to confer with him and discourse the whole matter to him, to assure him[x] "of the king's and duke's favour, and that they were in this particular moved "only by their tenderness to him; and that some "expedient should be first found out to remove him "with honour, before any notice should be taken of "the purpose to remove him, and before any other

1665.

The king resolves to dismiss him with honour.

[u] the], *Not in MS.*

[x] to assure him] secure him

1665. "person should be deputed to the command; and "that he himself should either propose the expe- "dient, if any such occurred to him that would be "grateful, or judge of any that should be proposed "to him."

The chancellor against removing him.

The chancellor did presume to declare, "that he "thought that they were persuaded to apprehend "somewhat that could not fall out. That he would "not take upon him to excuse the earl of Sandwich "for any offence he had committed: if it were of "that magnitude that his majesty thought fit to re- "move him from his command, nobody could cen- "sure it; and it may be, in a time of so much li- "cense, the severity might be thought seasonable. "But the apprehension that the parliament would "take more notice of what the earl had done, than "they would of any other breach of order that was "every day committed, was without any just rea- "son." But that argument was presently silenced by their undertaking to know somewhat that the other could not do, and that there was no other way to preserve him [y] but that which was proposed.

There was at that time an opportunity in view, that might give the earl of Sandwich an employ- ment very worthy of him, and which no man could imagine would be assigned to any man who was in disgrace. Sir Richard Fanshaw, who was a gentle- man very well known and very well beloved, had been first ambassador in Portugal, and had behaved himself so well there, that when he returned from thence, he was recommended, and upon the matter desired, by that crown to be sent to Spain, as the

An account of sir Richard Fanshaw's embassy in Spain.

[y] him] *Omitted in MS.*

fittest person to mediate in the king's name between Spain and Portugal; and the king had before designed to send him ambassador into Spain, as well to settle a treaty between England and Spain, (for there was none yet,) as to do all the offices between those other crowns which were requisite to the end aforesaid. No man knew that court better[z], or was so well versed in the language, having lived many years before in that court in much better times. He had remained now about two years, with such frequent mortifications as ministers use to meet with in courts irresolute and perplexed in their own affairs, as the counsels of Madrid were in the last years of the king, as his indisposition increased, or by relaxing administered some hope. He had made a journey to Lisbon upon the earnest desire of Spain, and returned without effect. The peace was equally desired and equally necessary to both nations: but the Portugal was[a] unmoveable in the conditions of it, preferring the worst that could fall out, even the abandoning their country, rather than to be without the sovereignty of it; and the Spaniard as positive not to part with their title, though they had no hope of their subjection. Nor did Spain appear solicitous to conclude any treaty with England, except either Portugal might be comprehended in it or abandoned by it. 1665.

On a sudden, when the recovery[d] of the king grew more desperate, (which is never a thing notoriously known in that court,) a project for a treaty was sent to the ambassador, containing more advan-

[z] better] *Not in MS.*
[a] was] *Omitted in MS.*
[b] recovery] recovery or long continuance

1665. tages in trade to the nation, (which are the most important matters in all those treaties,) and insisting upon fewer inconvenient conditions, than had ever been in any former treaties; without any mention of Tangier or Jamaica, which had hitherto in the entrance into any treaty since the king's return made the progress impossible: only it was urged, "that it might either be presently accepted and "signed by the ambassador, with a covenant that it "should be confirmed by the king within so many "days after it should be presented to him, or "else that there should be no more mention or dis-"course of it."

The ambassador, surprised with this overture, compared what was offered with what he was to demand by his instructions; and what was defective in those particulars he added to the articles presented to him, with such additions as, upon his own observation and conference with the merchants, occurred to him, or which seemed probable to be granted from somewhat themselves had offered more than had been demanded by him. These alterations and amendments were approved and consented to, and quickly returned engrossed and signed by the king, on condition to be presently signed by him, with the undertaking that is formerly mentioned. It had been wisely done by the ambassador, and no more than his duty, if he had first acquainted his master or the ministers with all that had passed, and expected a particular order before he had signed it. But that being expressly refused, without concealing the reason or the king's weakness, "which," they declared, "might make "such an alteration in counsels, that if it were not

"done in his lifetime, they knew not what might "happen after:" this was thought as good an argument by him for the despatch, as it was to them; and that if he should not make use of this conjuncture, there would never be the like advantageous treaty offered again. Hereupon he presently signed the treaty, with some secret article which was not to the advantage of Portugal, otherwise than that he concluded, by what had been said to him at Lisbon, it would have been acceptable to them. 1665.

This treaty was no sooner brought to the king by the Spanish ambassador, (who had received it by an express) and perused at the council-table, but many gross faults were found to be in it. Besides the gentleman's absence, who would with greater abilities have defended himself than any of those who had reproached him, it was no advantage to him that he was known to be much in the chancellor's confidence: and therefore the more pain was taken to persuade the king that he was a weak man, (which the king himself knew him not to be;) and they put such a gloss upon many of the articles, and rejected others as unprofitable which were thought to contain matters of great moment, that[c] they would not consent that a trade to the West Indies could be any benefit to England, and the like. In the end, the king concluded that he would not sign the treaty; for which he had some access of reason within a month after, by the death of the king of Spain.

When all these reproaches were cast upon the ambassador, and notice given that the king did dis- He is recalled.

[c] that] as

1665. avow the treaty and refused to sign it; it was reasonably resolved that he ought not to remain there longer as ambassador, but to be recalled. But the plague driving the king from London and dispersing the council, the pursuing this resolution was no more assumed, till the business of the earl of Sandwich[d] made it thought on as a good expedient; and the chancellor was directed in his discourse with the earl to mention it, as a proper expedient in his condition to be laid hold on and embraced.

The chancellor entered upon the whole discourse with that freedom and openness that became a man who he knew was not suspected by him. He told him all that himself knew of the affair, and the apprehension the king had of the parliament, and the expedient he had thought of to remove him out of the reach or noise of clamour, of which he made him the judge; and "if he did not like this employment[e] "for Spain, some other should be thought of and "published before it should be known, and before "the command of the fleet should be committed to "any other."

The earl of Sandwich lamented "that it had been "in any body's power to make so ill impressions in "the king and the duke, upon his having committed a trespass, for which he was heartily sorry;" and confessed "it was a presumption and indiscre-"tion, the ill consequence whereof he had not had wit "enough to discover: however, he did not yet think "it so great, as to make him fear to give an account "of it before the parliament, or any thing that they "could do upon it." He seemed not to be ignorant

[d] Sandwich] *Not in MS.* [e] employment] *Omitted in MS.*

of the offices sir William Coventry did him, "in "drawing complaints and reproaches from those "who had neither cause nor inclination to speak to "his disadvantage. He was sensible of the general's "want of justice towards him, which he knew not "to what to impute, but to his pride and weakness. "He did acknowledge it great bounty in the king, "since he thought him unfit and unworthy to con- "tinue in the command he had, that he would "yet assign him to so honourable an employment; "which, though it could not wipe off the reproach "of being dismissed from the other charge, was yet "a sufficient evidence that he was not out of his "majesty's good opinion and confidence: and there- "fore he did with all cheerfulness submit to his ma- "jesty's pleasure, and would be ready for his jour- "ney to Spain as soon as his despatch should be pre- "pared." 1665.

He told him then, "that he was in one respect "glad to be removed from his present command, for "he was confident that he would see no more great "matters done at sea, for that the common men "were weary of the war; and that sir William "would never suffer any peace to be in the fleet, "but had creatures ready to do all ill offices amongst "them, whom he cherished and preferred before the "best officers;" and told him many other things which fell out afterwards, and said, "sir William "would make any man who should succeed him "weary of his command, by sending such variety of "orders that he would not know what to do." And shortly after, he gave him a perfect journal of his last expedition, in which there were indeed many orders which must needs startle and perplex a com-

1665. mander in chief, it being his usual course to signify the duke's pleasure in matters of the greatest importance without the duke's hand; which yet they durst not disobey, nor produce in their own justification, being such as in truth were no such warrants as they ought to obey, and yet would reflect upon his royal highness: and told him likewise of the ill inventions he had set on foot, by which prince Rupert was stopped from being joined with him in the command of the last fleet.

The earl of Sandwich sent ambassador extraordinary into Spain

When the chancellor had informed the king of the earl of Sandwich's submission to his pleasure, and that he would be ready to undertake the employment for Spain as soon as his majesty pleased; hereupon the king declared his resolution in council to send the earl of Sandwich his extraordinary ambassador, as well to correct and amend the mistakes and errors in the late treaty, as further to mediate the peace with Portugal, which upon the death of the king was in some respect more practicable. And to that purpose he sent sir Robert Southwell, one of the clerks of the council, envoy into Portugal, that the earl might the better know the inclinations of that people: and all instructions necessary were presently to be prepared to both those ends.

The king thinks of appointing prince Rupert and the general joint admirals.

This first work being thus despatched, it remained to settle the command, for the ensuing year, of the fleet; and there can be little doubt made, but that the king and the duke had resolved this at the same time that they determined that the earl of Sandwich should not continue in it: however, it was communicated to nobody, till the designation of the other

was published. Then the king told the chancellor, 1665.
"that his brother and he had long considered that
"affair, and could not think of any expedient so
"good for the performance of that service, as a con-
"junction between prince Rupert and the general,
"and making them both joint commanders in chief
"of the fleet for the next expedition." There had many exceptions occurred to them against committing the charge to either of them singly; nor were they without apprehension of some which might fall out, by joining them together, which would be much greater, if they were not both well prepared to embrace the occasion, and themselves to like the designation. For the doing this the chancellor was again thought to be the fittest man, being believed to have the greatest interest in both of them, and most in him from whom the greatest difficulties were expected to arise, which was prince Rupert. It was easy to know prince Rupert's mind, who was in the house: yet they were both in cases of that nature desirous always to impart what they desired by others, rather than to debate it first themselves. But then the general was at London, besieged by the plague; and the matter was not fit to be communicated by letter, because, if he should make any scruple of concurring in it, it was to be declined.

Upon these considerations it was resolved, first, that the chancellor should prepare prince Rupert, and then that the general should be sent for to Oxford upon pretences, of which enough would occur. The prince, though he was much more willing to have gone alone, willingly conformed to the king's pleasure: and so both the king and duke spake at large with him upon all that was necessary to be

Prince Rupert willingly accepts of a joint commission.

1665. adjusted. And the general was sent to, "that it was "necessary for the king to confer with him upon "some propositions, which were made to him upon "the East India ships," (which transaction was not at that time yet concluded;) "and therefore that on "such a day he should come from London early "in the morning," (for it was deep winter,) "in his "own coach to Beaconsfield, where he should find "another coach ready to receive him, and another "at another stage; so that he might be with ease "at Oxford the same night," as he was, and very graciously received by the king, as he deserved to be. But as he had no manner of imagination of the true reason why he was sent for, so neither his majesty nor the duke would impart it to him, out of real imagination that it would not be grateful to him; but that was left to be imparted and dexterously managed by the chancellor, in whom, as was said before, it was generally believed that he had great confidence.

The chancellor confers with the general upon the subject.

He the next morning entered into conference with him, and after general discourses told him, "that the king had disposed the earl of Sandwich "to another employment, for which he did not "seem sorry: and that it must be now thought of, "who was fit to command in his place: that there "was no hope of peace, instead whereof there "would be an entire conjunction between France "and the Dutch; and that the French fleet" (the ambassadors being about this time gone) "would "be ready to join with them as soon as they should "put to sea; and there was much doubt that "the Dane would betake himself to the same al-"liance; and all would be at sea before we should

"be, except extraordinary diligence were used, 1665.
"which the continuance of the plague would hardly
"admit." The general presently answered, "that
"no person was so fit for that command as prince
"Rupert, who understood the seas well, and had
"that courage that was necessary in this conjunc-
"ture."

The chancellor told him, "that the king had
"great confidence in the affection and unquestion-
"able courage of prince Rupert: but he was not
"sure, that the quickness of his spirit and the
"strength of his passion might not sometimes
"stand in need of the advice and assistance of a
"friend, who should be in equal authority with
"him; and had therefore thought of finding some
"fit person to be joined with him, and so make one
"admiral of two persons." To which the other not replying suddenly, he continued his discourse, saying, "that the king had such a person in his view,
"whom he would never acquaint with it, until he
"might find some way to discover that the propos-
"ing it would not be ingrateful to him; and that
"he was obliged to make this discovery, and that
"the person in the king's view was himself; and
"that if he and prince Rupert were joined in the
"command of the fleet and undertook it, his majesty
"would believe that he had done all that was in his
"power, and would, with great hope, commit all the
"rest to God Almighty." He said, "he thought he
"had behaved himself most like a friend in telling
"him shortly and plainly what the king's drift was,
"towards which, though the secret was known to
"none but the duke of York, yet such an advance

1665. "was made, that his majesty was well assured that "prince Rupert would readily comply with his "pleasure." Upon the whole matter he desired him "to deal as like a friend with him, and to tell him "freely if he had no mind to the employment; and "he would take upon him to prevent the making "the proposition to him, and that neither the king "nor duke should take it unkindly."

The general appeared really surprised and full of thoughts; and after a short pause he desired him "not to believe that he made the least difficulty[a] "in his thoughts of undertaking the service; but "many things had occurred to him in the discourse "which he would mention anon." He said, "that "for his own part he should be willing to go out of "London to-morrow, and think himself much safer "in any action against the Dutch than he could be "in the post he was, where every day men died "about him and in his view; and as he thought "that he had done the king better service by stay-"ing in London, than he could have done in any "other place, so he believed, if the sickness should "continue," (as it was like enough to do, there appearing yet very little decrease,) "his majesty might "think that his presence might be as necessary "there as it had been." The chancellor replied, "that his majesty had foreseen that contingency; "and had already resolved, that if that fell out to "be the case, he should rather desire his residence "should be where it had been (though he was much "troubled to expose him to so much hazard) than

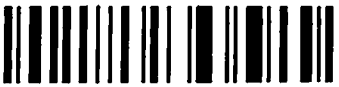
[a] difficulty] *Omitted in MS.*

"in any other place: but that his majesty's confi- 1665.
"dence in the mercy of God, that he would take off
"this heavy visitation before the end of winter, had
"suggested the other designation of him to the ser-
"vice of the fleet, upon the good conduct whereof
"his own and the kingdom's happiness so much de-
"pended."

The general quickly replied, "that for that matter The general submits to the king's pleasure.
"he was so willing to engage himself, that if the king
"pleased, he would most readily serve under the com-
"mand of prince Rupert:" to which the other an-
swered as readily, "that the king would never con-
"sent to that." And so they resolved presently to go to the king, that his majesty and the duke might know what would please them so much. And as they were going, the general said smiling, "that he would
"tell him now what the true cause was, that had
"made that pause in him upon the first discourse of
"the business; and that it would be necessary for
"him, after all things should be adjusted with the
"king and duke and prince Rupert, that what con-
"cerned him should still remain a secret, and prince
"Rupert be understood to have that command alone.
"For if his wife should come to know it, before he
"had by degrees prepared her for it, she would
"break out into such passions as would be very un-
"easy to him: but he would in a short time dis-
"pose her well enough; and in the mean time no-
"thing should be omitted on his part, that was
"necessary for the advancement of the service."
Hereupon the king, the duke, the prince, and the general consulted of all that was to be done; and he at the end of two days returned to London with

1665. the same expedition that he came to Oxford, together with sir George Carteret the treasurer of the navy, and all orders that were requisite for the sale of the East India ships, upon which all provisions for the fleet were to be made.

END OF VOL. II.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